

**LABOR CHALLENGE – 1946 – articles by Ross Dowson** (pseudonym: Paul Kane)  
& editorials (note re dates: 01\_15 = Mid-January)

01\_15-1a **Vol. 2 No. 1 (8)** Balance sheet of the great Ford strike, by Ross Dowson; Challenge campaign over top

01\_15<sup>th</sup>-1b (continuation) "...the power that could whip Ford."

01\_15<sup>th</sup>-2 First series of Forums close in Toronto (Friends of **Labor Challenge**)

01\_15<sup>th</sup>-3a (Editorial) Twice-monthly (LC) launched; Our program

01\_15<sup>th</sup>-3b (continuation) Full employment and job security, For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!

01\_15<sup>th</sup>-4 Editorial staff move into new office; Manager's column

01\_15<sup>th</sup>-5 Our program

02\_01<sup>st</sup>-1a **Vol. 2 No. 2 (9)** The housing crisis, by Ross Dowson

02\_01<sup>st</sup>-1b (continuation) "Housing Survey of 1934 revealed that..."

02\_01<sup>st</sup>-2a Lenin – Leader of world labor, by Paul Kane

02\_01<sup>st</sup>-2b (continuation) The lessons of October

02\_01<sup>st</sup>-3 Forum (two letters on Ford strike; Ross Dowson responds

02\_15<sup>th</sup>-1a **Vol. 2 No. 3 (10)** Seven months of Labor Party rule (in Britain), by R.D.

02\_15<sup>th</sup>-1b (continuation) Labor Party in power

03\_01<sup>st</sup>-1 **Vol. 2 No. 4 (11)** CCL launches wage campaign

03\_01<sup>st</sup>-2 The spy scare, by Paul Kane (LPP ducks campaign against Soviet Union)

03\_15<sup>th</sup>-1a **Vol. 2 No. 5 (12)** (Editorial) Imperialists threaten new war; unleash propaganda attack on Soviet Union; Arrest Stalinist MP

03\_15<sup>th</sup>-1b (continuation) Alienate sympathy of masses; Defend the Soviet Union

03\_15<sup>th</sup>-2 (Ontario PC Premier) Drew passes Buck on new labor laws, by Paulane

03\_15<sup>th</sup>-3 Manifesto to the Workers and Peasants of India (Fourth International book reviewed, by D. Whiteside)

04\_15<sup>th</sup>-1a **Vol. 2 No. 6 (13)** Prepare for strike action; Gov't raises prices, Keeps lid on wages, by Ross Dowson

04\_15<sup>th</sup>-1b (continuation) Unions prepare strike action to win demands

05\_01<sup>st</sup>-1 **Vol. 2 No. 7 (14)** Sask. CCF shelved 44-hour week; B.C. lobby leaders sold out labor, by Ross Dowson

05\_01<sup>st</sup>-2 War record of the 4<sup>th</sup> International, World party of socialist revolution

05\_01<sup>st</sup>-3 Campaign for 1,000 new subs under way; Toronto passes 10 per cent of its quota

05\_15<sup>th</sup>-1a **Vol. 2 No. 8 (15)** Marxist-Leninist principles and the policy of the L.P.P. (Canadian Stalinists), by Ross Dowson

05\_15<sup>th</sup>-1b (continuation) The LPP's pseudo-Marxist-Leninist line

05\_15<sup>th</sup>-2 Fourth Internationalists hold World Conference

06\_01<sup>st</sup>-1a **Vol. 2 No. 9 (16)** Seamen in heroic fight for 8-hr. day; Battle police, by Ross Dowson; World Conference of 4<sup>th</sup> International marks progress and prepares struggle

06\_01<sup>st</sup>-1b (continuation) Owners and govt (in battle); Seamen's militant struggle

06\_01<sup>st</sup>-2 (Unsigned, editorial) Leon Trotsky – Founder of 4<sup>th</sup> International; Great fighters participate in FI Conference

06\_01<sup>st</sup>-3 Spokesmen for Indochinese describe freedom struggle (special, interview with La Vérité on fate of FI leader Ta-Tu-Thau)

06\_01<sup>st</sup>-4 Sub Drive gathers momentum; Passes 35 per cent of goal

06\_15<sup>th</sup>-1a **Vol. 2 No. 10 (17)** Militant Seamen paralyse lake shipping; battling police for the 8-hour day, by Ross Dowson

06\_15<sup>th</sup>-1b (continuation) A demonstration of labor's power

06\_15<sup>th</sup>-2 Election gains registered by French Trotskyist party (special report)

06\_15<sup>th</sup>-3 Toronto goes over top with 100 per cent; Only one month to go in sub drive

**06\_01-Supp p1 "Vol. 2 No. 9" (8-page Supplement)** Only victorious social-revolution can prevent the Third World War !; Manifesto of the Fourth International addressed to the Workers, the Exploited and Oppressed Colonial Peoples of the Entire World

06\_01-Supp p2 (continuation) Rise and Fall of Nazi Germany; The results of World War 2

06\_01-Supp p3 (continuation) Basic antagonism in world today: USSR versus world imperialism; (photo) Leon Sedov

06\_01-Supp p4 (continuation) Kremlin's policies; Present revolutionary situation (Photo: Leon Trotsky)

06\_01-Supp p5 (continuation) Fate of Petty Bourgeoisie; Perspectives in Germany

06\_01-Supp p6 (continuation) Program of the Fourth International

06\_01-Supp p7 (continuation) Call to action

06\_01-Supp p8 (conclusion) (signed) The IC of the FI, Brussels, April 1946

07\_01<sup>st</sup>-1 **Vol. 2 No. 11 (18)** Sailor's strike wins 8-hr. day on lakes, by Ross Dowson

07\_15<sup>th</sup>-1a **Vol. 2 No. 12 (19)** Steelworkers defy govt and bosses; 15,000 strike for 40-hour week and 19-1/2 cents raise, by Ross Dowson

07\_15<sup>th</sup>-1b (continuation) Steelworkers strike

07\_15<sup>th</sup>-2 End of OPA (US price controls body) and dollar parity mean higher prices in Canada, by Paul Kane; Ta-Tu-Thau reported dead in Indo-China (Trotskyist leader)

08\_01<sup>st</sup>-1a **Vol. 2 No. 13 (20)** Spread strike to all steel to win; Trainmens' solidarity shows way in Hamilton; Dosco, Algoma solid, by Ross Dowson

08\_01<sup>st</sup>-1b (continuation) Steel strike

08\_01<sup>st</sup>-2 Trotskyists spur on fight for the freedom of Egypt (Cairo story)

08\_15<sup>th</sup>-1 **Vol. 2 No. 14 (21)** (Editorial article) Demand grows to spread strike to all steel as danger threatens

08\_15<sup>th</sup>-2a Trotsky's struggle for the 4<sup>th</sup> International (Editorial article)

08\_15<sup>th</sup>-2b (continuation) Sixth anniversary of Trotsky's death; Pioneer Canadian socialist RWP candidate in Australia (Jack Kavanagh)

09\_01<sup>st</sup>-1a **Vol. 2 No. 15 (22)** Support grows to spread strike as police threaten steel picket line; Veterans, labor unite behind Steelworkers demands; Parleys continuing, by Ross Dowson; (Editorial) The Revolutionary Workers' Party must be founded – Now!

09\_01<sup>st</sup>-1b (continuation) Steel strike; RWP editorial

09\_01<sup>st</sup>-2 (Editorial) The Fourth International (hailed); (also on page) Manager's column

09\_15<sup>th</sup>-1a **Vol. 2 No. 16 (23)** Steel strikers solid in ninth week; Gov't threatens use of strikebreaking vote law; Steel leaders vacillating, by Ross Dowson; Alberta farmers strike; Raise need for parity prices, by Paul Kane

09\_15<sup>th</sup>-1b (continuations) Steel strike; Prairie farmers strike

09\_15<sup>th</sup>-2 S.W.P. (USA) to contest elections in 5 states (Special report); Trotskyist leaders seized by puppet Bulgarian gov't

10\_01<sup>st</sup>-1 **Vol. 2 No. 17 (24)** CCL convention endorses CCF; Actions of CCF MPs criticized (Special report)

10\_01<sup>st</sup>-2 The world party of the socialist revolution – the 4<sup>th</sup> International (editorial article)

0\_01<sup>st</sup>-3 Manager's column (Advertisement: Toronto Mass Meeting of RWP)

10\_15<sup>th</sup>-1a **Vol. 2 No. 18 (25)** National convention launches the Revolutionary Workers Party; Delegates from key industrial areas lay firm foundation for new party (R.D. elected National Secretary)

10\_15<sup>th</sup>-1b (continuation) RWP convention; Campaign opened to raise \$1,500 for **Labor Challenge**

10\_15<sup>th</sup>-2 The balance sheet of the great strike in basic steel, by Ross Dowson

10\_15<sup>th</sup>-3 (Editorial) The formation of the RWP; A great step forward

10\_15<sup>th</sup>-4 Toronto meeting greets launching of RWP (incl. R.D. speech)

10\_15<sup>th</sup>-5 The historic origins of Trotskyism and its meaning to workers today, by Murray Dowson

10\_15<sup>th</sup>-6 Trotsky – On the founding of the Fourth International

11\_01<sup>st</sup>-1   **Vol. 2 No. 19 (26)** Dutch soldiers and workers defend Indonesians' struggle by two day general strike; Tan Malakka; Bolivian Trotskyists

11\_01<sup>st</sup>-2   What kind of organization to the workers need? CCF or RWP? (editorial article--partial)

11\_01<sup>st</sup>-3   Excellent response to appeal for \$1,500 sustaining fund drive, by Paul Kane; Manager's column

11\_15<sup>th</sup>-1   **Vol. 2 No. 20 (27)** (editorial article) Who are the romanticists and who the realists? CCF or RWP?

11\_15<sup>th</sup>-2   Greek Trotskyists debate program with Stalinists (Special)

11\_15<sup>th</sup>-3   Toronto and Vancouver RWP celebrate October Revolution.

11\_15<sup>th</sup>-4   Toronto leads in first returns to **Labor Challenge** \$1500 campaign

12\_01<sup>st</sup>-1a   **Vol. 2 No. 21 (28)** Three LPP members quit (Stalinist party); Join RWP; Call for support of F.I. in statement to members

12\_01<sup>st</sup>-1b   (continuation) Statement of 3 LPP members

12\_01<sup>st</sup>-2   Big increase in SWP vote indicates worker support for U.S. labor party

12\_01<sup>st</sup>-3   Ceylon general strike led by Trotskyists for wage raise; British Trotskyist on trial for fraternization with POWs

12\_15<sup>th</sup>-1a   **Vol. 2 No. 22 (29)** Vote labor – vote (Murray) Dowson Mayor; RWP presents program to Toronto electors

12\_15<sup>th</sup>-1b   (continuation) For subsidized low-rent housing! Candidate interviewed

12\_15<sup>th</sup>-2   4<sup>th</sup> International issues call for World Congress (special)

12\_15<sup>th</sup>-3   Youth Parliament stifles democratic discussion; RWP delegate walks out

12\_15<sup>th</sup>-4   British Trotskyist on trial for fraternization with POWs (from London, Eng.)

12\_15<sup>th</sup>-5   Over one third yet to come in \$1,500 drive objective

#### W23 SELECTION      Jul10/21

03\_01<sup>st</sup>-1   **Vol. 2 No. 4 (11)** CCL launches wage campaign

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# LABOR CHALLENGE

Vol. II, No. 1.

TORONTO, ONTARIO, MID-JANUARY, 1946

PRICE, 5 CENTS

## Challenge Campaign Over Top

As we go to press the Labor Challenge Twice Monthly Campaign eased over the top of the \$1,000 quota. The attainment of our goal makes it possible for us to present the first issue of the twice a month Labor Challenge. This important revolutionary step has been made possible by the loyal support of our many friends and sympathizers across the continent. Realizing the great need for a more frequently appearing and more popular Canadian Marxist paper they stepped forward. Our press is a tribute to their loyalty and self sacrifice.

Windsor, who took the lead last month from Montreal, still retains that position. Our comrades in Montreal and Windsor set a stiff pace from the opening gun and have been battling it out ever since Prince Rupert made a late start but burst through this month to register 40% over her quota.

Numerous donations have arrived in each mail. A Montreal CCYM club enclosed: "a small thank you to enable you to keep on with your terrific paper." Alice Arm, Bralorne, New Westminster, and other points scored and are recorded under Vancouver. As we go to press we have yet to receive the final tally of the Vancouver campaign. Toronto has also to wind up their campaign.

(Continued on Page Three)

## SCOREBOARD

	Quota	Paid	%
Windsor	\$ 25	\$ 55.00	220
Montreal	150	267.50	178
Prince Rupert	50	70.00	140
Alberta	—	13.00	—
Ottawa	50	53.00	106
Toronto	500	488.78	98
Saskatchewan	25	12.60	50
Vancouver	200	100.15	50
Totals.....	\$1,000	\$1,060.03	106
Standing as of January 5, 1946			

## BALANCE SHEET OF THE GREAT FORD STRIKE

ROSS DOWSON

On January 2nd the Ford workers reported to work. Negotiations between the Ford bosses and Local 200 UAW-CIO continue at the Ford office. The workers returned to the production lines to end a struggle that had closed the 240-acre plant for over 100 days and had inspired the whole labor movement.

Last week this strike had swept along in its course almost all organized Windsor labor, that erected the colossal, impenetrable auto barricade to prohibit violence by the police army, and threatened to seize Canadian industry in a general strike, came to a close. Even in its decline and isolation it was a great struggle. The national leaders of the CCL and the AFL, terrorized by the mass pressure of their membership, throttled the great wave for sympathy strike action that swept across Canada. The workers recognized that a general strike was the only

(Continued on Page Seven)

Recently the Canadian House of Commons authorized the sale of surplus army material in Holland to the Dutch government. Thus the Canadian capitalist government contributes its share to the destruction of the Indonesian independence movement. This is the purpose for which the army material will inevitably be used.

Meanwhile, neither the power of U.S. arms in the hands of British, Dutch and Japanese troops nor the wholesale burning of villages such as Bekasi have yet been able to crush the heroic Indonesian fighters. A conference at Singapore of Allied military leaders under Mountbatten, supreme commander in the Far East, decided to proceed with the complete destruction of the colonial revolts, not only in Indonesia, but also in French Indo China. The "strong policy—more force and more troops" for which Mountbatten called is designed to bring the colonial people into subjection as quickly as possible, for each day that the struggle continues is fraught with the gravest danger for world imperialism.

At the same time as the Singapore conference, there were reports of another conference in Burma, between Indonesian and Indo-Chinese leaders. This is what the imperialists fear most—that the revolt will spread to other subject countries and that the colonial peoples will join hands to hurl the imperialists out of the Orient. Most dangerous of all are the repercussions in India, already seething with discontent. Following the electoral victory of the Indian Congress Party the nationalist leader, Nehru, threatened the imperialists with just such a possibility. In the event of a general colonial uprising, Nehru stated, no power on earth, not even the atom bomb, could prevail against them.

Like the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Indonesian fight today draws a sharp line between the official labor leadership from His Majesty's Imperialist Labor Government to Queen Wilhelmina's loyal Communist Party, and the genuine revolutionary tendencies. While the Stalinist Parties of Britain, the U.S. and Canada, in line with Stalin's present policy of bringing pressure on his allies at their weakest point, carry on a phoney anti-imperialist campaign.

(Continued on Page Two)

R.D. → top. 2

## AMERICAN GM STRIKE FORCES LAY-OFF AT OSHAWA

By BETTY GREEN

As the New Year opens, the great General Motors strike of over a quarter million American workers in more than 100 plants from coast to coast continues with unabated militancy in its seventh week. Canada, too, feels the repercussions of the struggle against the wealthy Du Pont interests who control General Motors. Twelve hundred workers in GM's Oshawa plant were recently laid off because of a shortage of parts due to the strike. But the Canadian workers feel no resentment against their American comrades for this. They realize that the struggle for a 30% raise to maintain decent living standards is their fight too.

### WORKERS' AIMS

Since VJ day, with the cut in hours of work and loss of overtime, American auto workers have suffered drops of 25-50% in their "take-home" pay. The present inflation and high cost of living have forced the UAW, organized and

How GM Workers Answered Strike Call



# Balance Sheet of Ford Strike

(Continued from Page One)

power that could whip Ford. They recognized that Ford was acting as the spearhead of the Canadian bosses who included in their re-conversion plans the destruction of Canadian labor. But Conroy, Mosher, Millard, Bengough and company effectively smashed the move towards a general strike, and isolated the Ford workers. The local leaders, backing down from the struggle that was thrust upon them, grasp the government Humphrey Mitchell formula to arbitrate union security. On November 29 the workers decisively rejected their leaders' plans for sell-out with a vote of 52 to 48. When the workers, undaunted, rejected the proposal of arbitration of union security the local and national leadership launched a campaign to soften them up.

## THE ATTACK AGAINST THE STRIKE

The boss press, aided by the local leadership, whipped up a campaign for industrial peace at Ford terms. Attorney General Blackwell launched the assault with an inflammatory attack against the Ford workers. The 250 Federal and Provincial police remained for the duration of the strike a threat to the picket line. Windsor clergymen and businessmen, hand in hand with the Labor Progressive Party machine pressured for a new vote. The softening up process resulted in a vote which was cast December 19th. Seventy-two per cent voted to submit union security to arbitration. The active nucleus of the union, the picket line and the workers who had born the brunt of the struggle remained solid to register a 28% opposition. It took over five weeks of constant hammering to force the Ford workers to accept Mitchell's modified version of the Ford offer that had been rejected almost two months previously.

This first great post-war test found Canadian labor unprepared. The workers met the test with the sympathy strike at Local 195, the motor barricade, the sympathy strikes in Sarnia, Brantford, Hamilton, and the strike votes across Canada. The balance sheet of the Ford strike proves the bankruptcy of the labor leaders. It exposes their fear and their inability to lead the Canadian workers in the great struggles ahead.

## CCF ANALYSIS

The Co-operative Press Association released for publication to the cross-Canada CCF press last week a post-mortem entitled: "Backstage Actions at Windsor Injure Labor Rank and File." This article by an anonymous "Labor Correspondent" is an attack against the LPP and their role in the Windsor strike. It can be considered an important step forward for the CCF in spite of its anonymity for reason of the fact that its publication in the Ontario CCF News marks the first release other than mere news coverage on the Ford strike. A casual

reading of this article however exposes it as a mass of contradictions.

Commencing with an attack from the left against the LPP no strike pledge during wartime, it winds up commanding the final settlement of the Windsor strike—arbitration of union security. Attacking the LPP as paper revolutionists: "who would probably be on the other side if the revolution comes to Canada", the correspondent opposes the general strike as being a weapon "which at this time would lead to industrial chaos and destruction of unions."

The key to this confused article is to be found in an analysis of the role of the LPP who held many of the key positions in the strategy committees and in essence led the strike. After dealing with certain aspects of the strike the writer concludes that the LPP has returned to what is known as "the third period", a period in Communist Party history of ultra-leftism. We are offered as evidence to support this contention the LPP support of the sympathy strike wave.

## LPP BETRAYS STRUGGLE

In spite of the LPP leadership and their no strike pledge, during the war the Ford workers went on strike on two occasions. At the close of the war the Ford workers took to the streets and since the LPP, swept along by the workers, supported the strike if only to strangle it, it was ipso facto an LPP engineered strike. The whole development of the struggle proves the falsity of this theory. The LPP taunted the movement and supported the mounting sentiment for sympathy strikes under the pressure of the workers. When to fight for this policy meant to struggle with the bureaucrats of the AFL and CCL they

tossed the leadership to Conroy. The Stalinists voted to remove the powerhouse picket, worked and voted for the acceptance of the original Michell formula and were in the forefront of the call for a new vote and the acceptance of the so-called revised formula. In the December 22, Canadian Tribune, Kogan boasts of the importance and leading role the LPP played in demanding the acceptance of the Mitchell formula. LPP strategy differed in no sense from the strategy of Burt, Englund, Addes whom the article lauds as "sound unionists". The LPP carries on with its old policy of class collaboration.

## STRIKE STRATEGY

Could the Ford workers have continued to play off Ford with Chrysler or GM? The answer is an emphatic NO. Ford was the leader of an organized boss plot to smash labor. Buttressed by the invasion of Federal and Provincial police, assured of both government's support, they made it plain early in the struggle that they would accept no form of union security—even at the cost

of a plant freeze-up. Ford, GM, and Chrysler were fighting each other for the car market but were reinforcing each other in their common struggle against labor. When Local 195 joined the ranks of 200 it was in many plants on the verge of being locked out. The CCF News article attacks the sympathy strike of Local 195 as seriously "weakening rather than strengthening the Ford strikers". This action alone saved the strike at a critical period when the Ford local was faced with the combined assault of Ford, their government agents, and the police invasion. The swelling of the picket lines and the erection of the motor barricade which effectively stopped the police attack and destruction of the strike raised the strike to a national issue.

## THE GENERAL STRIKE

In order to mask the role of Millard and other CCF leaders in the smashing of the sympathy strike movement the CPA correspondent attacks the proposal for general strike action. The appeal issued by Locals 195 and 200 urging a nation wide general strike was greeted by organized labor from coast to coast and only defeated by the top leaders of the AFL and CCL. LABOR CHALLENGE advocated the spreading of the strike as far back as October even before Local 195 joined the picket lines. We maintain that to spread the strike was the only correct policy. The CPA correspondent states that: "a general strike is not merely an economic weapon but is also a political weapon. Implicit in general strike proposals is a readiness to assume control of government machinery." He goes on to say that Canadian labor is unprepared for this.

For several years now the CCF has been seeking trade union endorsement as the political arm of labor. One of the great lessons of this strike is political. Both the Conservative and Liberal parties are agents of the bosses. A Labor Party must be built based on the strength of organized labor. Labor Challenge in the recent federal and provincial elections urged the workers to put the CCF in power. The CCF claims to be ready to assume control of the government machinery and has run candidates obviously for that purpose. The CCF News nonetheless publishes an article that states labor is unprepared to take power. Labor is prepared for power. The workers from coast to coast rallied to the appeal for sympathy strike action whatever the implications might be. It is labor's present leaders who are unprepared. Unprepared not only for power but to lead the workers in the struggle to defend their interests.

The Ford strike exposes the complete bankruptcy of the present labor leaders who cheated

the workers of the gains that their militant action should have won. The first phase of the struggle of Windsor labor against the Ford Empire ends in a solemn warning. Canadian labor must arm itself with the lessons of the Ford strike. The bosses, faced with a rising surplus of labor power, lower taxes and a more competitive market are preparing new assaults on labor. Labor must smash the hold of the stranglers of the Ford strike.

01-15-16

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Numerous donations have arrived in each mail. A Montreal CCYM club enclosed: "a small thank you to enable you to keep on with your terrific paper." Alice Arm, Bralorne, New Westminster, and other points scored and are recorded under Vancouver. As we go to press we have yet to receive the final tally of the Vancouver campaign. Toronto has also to wind up their campaign.

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## Challenge Campaign Goes Over Top

(Continued from Page One)

and top their quota. The Toronto manager informs us that many pledges are still outstanding but the books will be cleared for the next issue.

Stop the press news last month registered Ottawa as attaining their quota. This month Hull donated \$3 to the twice monthly and put Ottawa in the 106% class. Saskatchewan has stepped up their donation with some out of the way points still to be heard from. Alberta, who compelled us to register a \$10 donation on last month's scoreboard comes through again with another donation.

While the campaign officially ended the first of this month and several points have yet to close their books, we have attained our goal and no doubt next issue will see us well over the top.

Labor Challenge congratulates all who have so generously participated in the campaign. After publication of only seven issues of a monthly paper we have been able with your support to go forward to a twice monthly. The twice monthly Labor Challenge marks a great step forward to a more effective participation in the class struggle—it marks a great advance in the fight for a socialist Canada. The twice monthly in the great political struggles that lie ahead will provide the ever widening circle of class conscious workers with the key to victory—revolutionary marxism.

01-15-2

## First Series of Forums Close in Toronto

The first series of Forums held by the Toronto Friends of Labor Challenge at the Labor Lyceum closed last Sunday, December 23 with a fine lecture by Murray Dowson.

Comrade Dowson's lecture on—The Road to Socialism—Stalinism, Social Democracy, Trotskyism, provoked a lively period of discussions and questions from the audience of over 35 workers.

Comrade Dowson attacked the French Stalinists and Social Democrats for bolstering up the reactionary monarchist de Gaulle and their failure to carry out the will of the French masses who elected them to usher in socialism. He exposed the British Labor Party leader's maintenance of the imperialist policies of the Churchill government. He told of the degeneration of the Communist International under the Stalinist bureaucracy which lead to Stalinist parties' support of the imperialist war and what we see today in Canada—the LPP advocacy of a Labor coalition with the Liberal Party.

In his analysis of the CCF, Canada's Farmer Labor Party, he outlined the path that it must follow: "If it is to implement a program that will answer the needs of the Canadian worker's the CCF must follow a policy of irreconcilable class struggle. Trotskyism, alone, has shown its adherence to the principles of the class struggle. In the United States the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party were jailed for

their fight against capitalist war. In France the Trotskyists, many of whom lost their lives in the fight against Fascism and rotted in Hitler's concentration camps, carry on the fight for the smashing of the de Gaulle coalition. In Britain the Trotskyists fight for the independence of the colonial people and the socialization of British industry."

The audience, predominantly CCF, asked many questions and participated in the discussion which had to be cut short due to the lateness of the evening.

The forum of the week previous on the Colonial Peoples in Revolt was handled by two, last minute substitute, speakers. The guest speaker was unfortunately snowbound. The two speakers, after sketching the background of the struggle, came out for full support of the struggle of the colonial masses and demanded the withdrawal of the Imperialist armies.

These two lectures brought to a close the first series of four forums which under the general title of, The Aftermath of World War II, dealt with the preparations for the third imperialist war, the British Labor Party in power, the colonial revolution, and an analysis of current political tendencies.

Shortly after the New Year the Toronto Friends of Labor Challenge will announce a new series of forums on other important issues confronting the Canadian workers.

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Standing as of January 5, 1946

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A twice-monthly paper bringing the truth about labor's struggle for socialism to the working people of Canada.

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Vol. II, No. 1      Toronto, Ontario      Mid-January, 1946

01-15<sup>th</sup>-3a

## TWICE-MONTHLY LAUNCHED

Seven months ago the first issue of Labor Challenge came off the press. It contained our statement of purpose and policy. We said then, "We feel that the appearance of Labor Challenge fills a long felt need. For too long now the workers of Canada have been without a paper interpreting national and international events in the light of Marxism." The most advanced workers agreed with us and rallied around Labor Challenge.

Hundreds of militant workers became subscribers. Labor Challenge gradually became recognized as the only authentic voice of revolutionary socialism in Canada. It fearlessly brought the truth about labor's struggle for socialism to an ever widening section of the working people of Canada. The program and slogans of Labor Challenge are beginning to find roots in the organizations of the Canadian workers. Many of our readers expressed to us the necessity of a more frequent appearance of Labor Challenge to aid the workers in the great battles ahead. The twice-monthly is now a reality.

In the past two and a half months the friends of Labor Challenge have raised over \$1,000, the minimum necessary to assure the launching of the twice-monthly. To all those who participated in this important action the editors extend a hearty vote of thanks. The efforts of our staff to continually improve the content and make up of the only revolutionary marxist paper in Canada have been amply rewarded by your support.

This first issue of the twice-monthly already shows some improvement over the old monthly Labor Challenge. While the program and policy of the paper will remain the same we will bend every effort to give Labor Challenge a more popular appeal. Appearing twice as frequently will mean that a greater coverage can be given to trade union struggles. The Workers' Forum will have more space so that we may be able to publish more of the interesting letters we receive from our readers. A number of special features will be carried such as Shop Talks on Socialism which begins with this issue. The make up of the paper will be brightened up with more pictures and cartoons.

Labor Challenge owes a great deal of its success to the close contact it has established with its co-thinkers in other countries. Many of the cartoons and pictures we have published, including the splendid cartoons of Laura Gray, first appeared in The Militant published in New York. We are assured of continued help from this source.

Everything is set to make Labor Challenge, the only evolutionary socialist paper in Canada, the most interesting and informative workers' paper in the Dominion. Only two things are required to assure its continuance and growth along this line. Firstly, up-to-the-minute reports of struggles of the workers across the country from our correspondents and secondly the continued support of our readers and friends for Labor Challenge.

If the battles which face the workers in this country are to be won it is imperative that Labor Challenge gets into the hands of every militant worker in Canada. Labor Challenge is the indispensable weapon of the working people in the struggle for socialism.

## OUR PROGRAM

Starting with the first issue of Labor Challenge last June we have printed a number of slogans on the Editorial Page on our paper. From now on they will be found in a box on another page. These slogans, which summed up our statement of purpose and policy, have embodied the program of Labor Challenge. We have placed them elsewhere in the paper in order to give them more prominence.

Our readers will note that we have introduced several changes in these slogans. We have dropped some of them and enlarged on those we now carry. These changes reflect profound developments since the end of the war which affect the life of every worker.

We want to make it clear from the start that our fundamental program is Marxism. It is embodied in the classic works of our great working-class teachers and leaders, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

This fundamental program expresses the basic historic aims of the world working class to do away with the vicious capitalist system of war, unemployment, racial discrimination and want, and to replace it with a socialist order based on production for use, with a genuine and lasting world peace.

The will and capacity of the working class to achieve the goal of socialism is developed in the process of a constant daily struggle against the forces of capitalist reaction, in the constant, daily struggle for improvement of the workers' standard of living. This class struggle is expressed in conflicts between labor and capital on all the burning economic, social and political issues of the day. It is in the struggle over these issues, which assume an ever broadening and deep-going character, that the workers develop revolutionary consciousness and become organized, trained and tempered for the final victorious battle.

These issues of the day become the focal points of the class struggle around which the slogans in "Our Program" are formulated. These issues do not necessarily have a permanent and fixed form. They frequently become modified and changed in the development of objective conditions and the shifts in the relationship of political forces.

We can best illustrate this with an explanation of some of the changes we now make in our program.

## For Freedom of Speech and Assembly, for a Free Press

The world trend to the left has witnessed in Canada a remarkable growth in the strength of organized labor. It has also seen, in same period of the later years of the war, a growth in the political consciousness of the working people of this country. This is indicated in the growth of CCF support. When Labor Challenge first commenced publication hostilities with the axis powers were not over. Freedom of speech, assembly and the press were restricted by the vicious Defense of Canada Regulations. The end of the war and the continuation of the left development of the labor movement has meant the end of prosecutions

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under these Acts. Therefore we are dropping this slogan from our program although we continue to defend the principles for which it stands.

The headline of the first issue of Labor Challenge read, in large size bold face type, "For a CCF Gov't". We gave critical support to the CCF in the Ontario provincial election and the federal election of last June. Again, in the three provincial elections of last October, our headline and lead article called for support of the CCF.

We gave our support to the CCF because it was the expression of the desire of the working people of Canada for independent political action. It was the first break on a mass scale of the workers of Canada with boss politics. We called for CCF Governments on the basis of our program. The only program which could satisfy the needs of the workers.

Now with capitalist parties in power in eight of the nine provinces and in the Dominion Government electoral activity has receded into the background for the immediate future. The struggles of the workers although still in essence political struggles will take on new forms. The workers will come into conflict with the capitalists not at the polls, except in municipal elections and the odd by election, but in the streets.

We still fight for independent working class political action. Our attitude towards the CCF remains the same. We characterize it as a Farmer Labor Party supported by the overwhelming majority of the politically conscious workers and poor farmers. We will continue to support it, wherever and whenever it carries on a struggle on behalf of the workers against the capitalist rulers.

#### **Full Employment and Job Security**

Since our first issue, Labor Challenge warned that one of the immediate consequences of the Second World War would be mass unemployment. We foretold that the monopolies would seek to shut down or scrap plants built

with public funds. We have called for continued operation of these plants under workers' control. With the shutdown of scores of plants and the firing of tens of thousands of workers, this part of our program has today attained burning urgency.

The tens of thousands of unemployed now walking the streets, together with the returning veterans, face a critical emergency. Without jobs and without income, they face hunger and homelessness.

The most the capitalist government offers the unemployed is starvation rations—unemployment compensation which reaches a maximum of \$14 per week. This miserable relief is only of limited duration.

Everyone knows that this country has the resources, the plants and the labor power to provide plenty for all. The tremendous volume of production achieved for the war has reaffirmed this. If the workers are unemployed, it is only because the profit-bloated capitalists refuse to permit operation of the plants at full capacity. Therefore, the workers are entitled to unemployment insurance that will enable them to maintain a decent standard of living during the entire period of unemployment imposed on them by the capitalists.

#### **For the Complete Independence of the Colonial Peoples!**

In the November issue of our paper we added the slogan "For immediate freedom for the colonial peoples." Although we have devoted considerable space to this subject in our press we feel that it should be explained fully.

The revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands, the fight of the colonial peoples for complete independence is today conducted against the same capitalist enemies that confront the workers here in Canada. Thus, every blow struck against the Fords, DuPonts and other monopolists abroad strengthens the hand of Canadian labor against the monopolists here at home.

# Editorial Staff Move Into New Office

The publication of a twice-monthly Labor Challenge made it necessary that we set ourselves up in business. This event called for a base of operations, a place we could call our own in which to instal typewriters, mailing apparatus and all the rest of the paraphernalia necessary to publish paper.

For almost two months, in preparation for the twice-monthly we walked the streets of Toronto. All the trust companies and real estate agents had closed doors ... They laughed ... NO VACANCIES. We covered every street and side alley, craning our

necks at the second and third story windows.

The situation looked desperate until one of our comrades stumbled on an old building in the centre of the business district. There, there was a room—vacant—but what condition it was in! It was only with a renovator's eye that we took the place. After over two weeks of tireless scrubbing and painting by loyal comrades were we able to see that our judgment was correct.

Labor Challenge is now installed in Room 5, 87 King Street West, Toronto 1—an oasis amidst desolation.

We are on the third floor, but don't let that discourage you for the place gets better the higher up you go. From a gloomy hallway Room 5 opens up in a blaze of light. Portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky and other labor heroes grace our walls. The international marxist press fills our racks, and our shelves are laden with revolutionary literature.

The staff invites you to come down and pay us a visit anytime you are in town. The Trans Canada Airlines and the American Airways are only down the street, the CPR and CNR Union Station is a short two blocks away and our telephone is Elgin 9613.

**Remember — LABOR CHALLENGE, ROOM 5, 87 KING ST. WEST, EL. 9613.**

## New Address:

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ROOM 5

87 KING STREET WEST

Telephone: ELgin 9613

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**LABOR  
CHALLENGE**

## MANAGER'S COLUMN

### ANNOUNCE NEW SUB RATES

Labor Challenge is now a twice-monthly. While the news of the campaign is carried in another article, the more frequent publication of our paper will mean a number of changes for the Business Manager and our loyal supporters and sub getters.

We are proud of the fact that Labor Challenge, unlike the capitalist press carries no high paid advertising. We depend on the support of the workers themselves. Like all other labor papers we depend on a subsidy to meet the difference between subscription rates and the actual cost.

Now that the twice-monthly has been launched all subscribers for the monthly will continue to receive the twice-monthly until they have received a total of 12 issues of Labor Challenge.

The new subscription rates will be 50 cents for 6 months subscription (12 issues) and \$1.00 for one year (24 issues).

We plan to begin a subscription campaign to increase the circulation of Labor Challenge. This campaign will be launched in the near future. We are sure that we will put it over the top in the same efficient way that the first campaign for subscriptions and the twice-monthly campaign were carried out.

Subs for the twice-monthly, we are sure, should be a lot easier to sell than subs for the monthly. The more attractive appearance of the paper and the fact that it will contain certain articles of a

wider interest written in a more popular style should open up all kinds of possibilities. While the big campaign is still the music of the future, we would like to get reports from our regular sub getters on how the new twice-monthly is going over. Any ideas or suggestions from our readers on ideas for the campaign or on how to improve the paper will be welcome and get careful consideration.

Toronto heads the list for December for new subscriptions leading Vancouver by one. But this was an easy win for Toronto because December saw only 22 new subs come in. Here is the score:

Toronto .....	6
Vancouver .....	5
Timmins, Ontario .....	3
Montreal .....	2
Cellista, B.C. ....	2
Quebec City .....	2

Ottawa and Port Arthur, Ontario scored one each.

One of our best sub getters in Toronto suggests that before the big sub drive gets under way that some of our supporters should start a little warm-up campaign. We think it is a good idea. How about it, all you friends of Labor Challenge?

We are now in our new headquarters all ready to give better service on subs and correspondence. Remember our new address, Labor Challenge, Room 5, 87 King St. W., Toronto 1, Ontario. Phone El. 9613.

01-15A-4

## **Our Program:**

### **1. Full Employment and Job Security For All Workers and Veterans!**

A rising scale of wages! Increase wages to meet the increased cost of living!

A sliding scale of hours! Reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay!

Operate all government-built and idle plants under workers' control!

Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages during the entire period of unemployment!

### **2. Organization of The War Veterans by The Trade Unions!**

### **3. Against any and all forms of racial prejudice or national oppression!**

For full democratic rights for the French Canadians!

### **4. Tax the rich not the poor!**

No taxes on incomes under \$3,000 a year! Confiscate all War profits!

### **5. Independent working class political action!**

Establish the workers' and farmers' government!

### **6. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!**

For the complete independence of the colonial people!

Withdraw all Canadian troops from foreign soil!

**THE LABOR CHALLENGE BOOK SERVICE FEATURES THIS ISSUE . . .**

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01-15-5

# LABOR CHALLENGE

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TORONTO, ONT., FEBRUARY, 1946

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PRICE, 5 CENTS

## Great Strike Wave Sweeps Over U.S.A.

By BETTY GREEN \*

The greatest strike wave in U.S. history is now reaching its climax. Basic industries from coast to coast are closed tight as nearly two million workers poured out of them to assert their right to a decent livelihood. The UAW vanguard in General Motors has been heartened by the appearance of such vast reinforcements in the fight which they spearheaded nine weeks ago. Now the ranks have been closed as 750,000 steel workers, 300,000 packing house workers and 200,000 electrical workers join battle with the giant, American Big Business.

Wall Street's war has not ended. The front has merely been transferred from Okinawa, Leyte and Saipan to Detroit, Pittsburgh and Chicago. World domination, won in four years of imperialist war, is insecure unless the workers at home are first "pacified" and tamed. Hand in hand with the suppression and exploitation of the colonial peoples must go a union smashing, wage lowering campaign in the United States. This is the reason for the arrogant and provocative tactics of Big Business. They will accept no compromise. Earched by the greatest war profits in history, they are prepared for a long struggle.

Wall Street faces a determined and militant enemy. Fighting to retain the standard of living of the war years, the workers understand the decisive character of the struggle. Such new factors as the UAW demand that General Motors open its books indicate that the fight tends to go beyond simple issues of wages and conditions and opens a new phase in the development of the American labour movement. If they were victorious in their demand and GM's books were opened to reveal the super profits, the exploitation and the corrupt manipulations of big business, the next step would quickly present itself to the workers—workers' control of industry.

In the face of this great crisis, the legend of governmental impotency that Roosevelt was able to build up during and before the



Picketing members of the Western Electric Employees Association, on strike against the Western Electric trust, battle a company-inspired assault of 1,000 non-striking supervisory employees at the huge Kearny, N.J. plant. The pickets fought back with determination and only 14 supervisors got past the picket line.

war, has vanished. The militancy of the workers has rendered impossible the policy of deception and the deals with labor leaders that Roosevelt could carry out. Consequently, the unions find arrayed against them not only the bosses but, more openly than ever, the whole state apparatus. City police and state militia, armed with court injunctions issued by accommodating judges, hurl tear gas bombs in an effort to smash the picket lines. (Continued on page 4)

### *The Line Held Firm!*

### THEY WILL LOOK INTO IT

MONTREAL, Que.—The Hon. Brooke Claxton, Minister of National Health and Welfare, made a speech here, January 21, at McGill University. During the question period he was asked what could be done about the lack of low-cost housing.

Claxton replied, "If private enterprise does not meet the

need and if the provincial governments do not meet the need, then we are certainly prepared to look into the matter again."

This reply followed an admission that the number of houses expected to be completed by next May would fall 10,000 below the miserable goal of 60,000 houses planned.

02-01-1a

### THE HOUSING CRISIS

By ROSS DOWSON

A great wave of indignation has swept across Canada. Thousands of troops are returning from war devastated Europe to find that there are no homes for their wives and families. Those who are fortunate enough to find a dwelling place are forced to live in cramped and unhealthy quarters and pay exorbitant prices for the privilege. The Canadian Legion estimates that the minimum requirements to fill their demand is 50,000 units.

The Boss Press and sections of the Labor Press pretend that this housing crisis is due to the war and only a temporary phenomena. Last week a report in the Toronto Star of an area in Toronto where children report to school with their hands torn and one girl with her nose gnawed by rats stripped the mask from this lie. The great shortage of houses for the working class and the slum character of many that they are forced to inhabit is not caused but only aggravated by the war. The slums and housing shortage were always with us. All during the war that was supposedly fought for democracy, security and the Four Freedoms, the slums in the large industrial areas continued to spread and to breed disease and crime. The situation has been only aggravated by the wartime shortage of building materials, the development of Canadian industry with the subsequent increase in urban population, and the natural increase in population.

A 1934 housing survey report in Winnipeg stated: "Of the total of 1,800 houses examined in four districts, 1,300 rooms were used for both cooking and sleeping." The average number of rooms per person in 1931 for the Dominion of Canada was 1.27. The Toronto (Continued on page 8)

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# HOUSING CRISIS

(Continued from page 1)

Housing Survey of 1934 revealed that of the 1,332 dwellings and 1,421 households examined, 75% fell below minimum health standards, 16% were overcrowded, 58% were damp.

E. G. Faludi in a survey published by the Canadian Association for Adult Education in April 1942 estimated that Canada required 65,000 dwelling units per annum to meet obsolescence, deterioration, changes in living standard and urban increase in population. The actual production for the five year period 1937-42 averaged only 15,000 per annum.

## ENGELS ON HOUSING

Frederick Engels, co-founder with Marx of scientific socialism, wrote a series of articles in reply to the patch up solutions advocated by reformist quacks and social philanthropists.

"The so-called housing shortage," he said, "which plays such a great role in the press nowadays, does not consist in the fact that the working class generally lives in bad, overcrowded and unhealthy dwellings. This shortage is not something peculiar to the present; it is not even one of the sufferings peculiar to the modern proletariat in contradistinction to all earlier oppressed classes. On the contrary all oppressed classes in all periods suffered more or less uniformly from it. In order to make an end of this housing shortage there is only one means; to abolish altogether the exploitation and oppression of the working class by the ruling class . . . the housing shortage is one of the smaller secondary evils which result from the present day capitalist mode of production."

Capitalism has never been able to contradict this statement which was written over 70 years ago. In 1935 the Canadian government passed The Dominion Housing Act. In 1938 it was superseded by the National Housing Act which was supposed to meet the needs of the lower income groups. For the period 1935-42 their combined achievement was 29,680 units. The need was estimated to be 455,000 units. The average cost per unit of the homes built under the National Housing Act was \$3,322. The Dominion Committee on Housing estimates that a wage earner in the low income group can afford to spend at the most one-fifth of his income in

rent. The 1941 Dominion census found 60 per cent of all wage earners receiving less than \$1,000 per year or approximately \$19 a week. In other words the Dominion Committee estimates that 60 per cent of all wage earners in Canada can afford to pay at the most only \$16 a month rent. Both Acts founded on the rocks of capitalism.

The capitalist class cannot solve the problem any more than it can solve the general problem of the equitable distribution of the necessities of life. Capitalism produces for profit. The needs of the Canadian people conflict with the system of production for profit. Housing is no exception.

The growth of great cities gives the land in certain areas grossly inflated values. Buildings erected in these areas depress this value instead of increasing it because they no longer correspond to the changed circumstances. They are pulled down, replaced by others or the lots left vacant. This is particularly true with workers' houses which are centrally located and whose rents cannot increase above a certain maximum. The workers are forced out to the suburban areas, workers' dwellings become rare, expensive, and on occasion unobtainable. The building industry, offered a more lucrative field for speculation in the construction of expensive homes, builds workers' dwellings only by way of exception.

## LPP POLICY

"There is only one means to end this housing shortage," stated Engels, "that is to abolish altogether the exploitation and oppression of the working class by the ruling class. Tim Buck, firing the open gun last week in the LPP National Housing Campaign stated, "What we are proposing does not call for any radical change in our national economy". The campaign calls for: 50,000 homes to be built now for veter-

ans, Dominion Municipal co-operation to build 50,000 homes each year for the next five years and finally "encourage private home builders to build a further 50,000 units per year by increased government assistance to prospective small home owners". How much encouragement do the private home builders (read the mortgage trust companies and construction interests) need to build these homes? Buck estimates that it will require a billion dollars in five years. The workers paid 20 billion for the war so no one should squirm at this proposal. The LPP government building program shifts the entire financial burden for the capitalist housing crisis onto the taxpayers the majority of whom are workers already earning only \$19 a week. The assistance that they propose be increased to prospective small home owners will also fall into the hands of the big building interests.

## REFORMS FAIL

Buck states in order to allay our fears that this proposal is nothing new. Quite correct. Housing schemes of this character have been in operation before. Not only did they saddle the workers with enormous debts and line the pockets of the mort-

gage companies but they failed utterly to solve the housing problem. An official British Ministry of Health report on Private Enterprise Housing finds that, "39,186 houses were provided with the assistance of subsidy . . . the cost of the houses placed them beyond the means of the working class and the scheme made little direct contribution towards the easing of working class need. The reduction or discontinuance of subsidy generally coincided with a substantial and abnormal fall in building costs." The report continues, "It was often alleged that the subsidy went into the pocket of the builder . . . We see no way of entirely eliminating the risk, save by unduly restrictive conditions which defeat the object of the subsidy, viz., the production of houses as speedily as possible."

This is the impasse that meets all patch up reformist housing schemes. This is the impasse from which capitalism has no way out.

## THE SOLUTION

The solution of the housing problem lies only along the road of socialism; the expropriation of the landowners and capitalists and workers control of the means of production.

Over 200,000 workers walk the streets in Canada, there is no crucial shortage of construction goods. The basic material for the solution of the housing crisis exists. A properly worked out plan prepared by the building workers would see the construction of millions of homes in a few years. Councils set up by the organized building workers and technicians can draw up this plan and carry it through to completion. Financed by the government and under workers' control millions of homes within reach of the pockets of the workers and returning veterans can be constructed.

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02-01-16

# LENIN — LEADER OF WORLD LABOR

Page 1

By PAUL KANE

**O**N January 18, 1924, exactly 22 years ago, Nickolai Lenin, mighty leader of the Russian workers, died. The death of Lenin, supreme working class leader, unparalleled Marxian, master strategist and tactician of the proletarian revolution was a staggering blow to the ranks of the international working class. But Lenin, like Marx, who was his great teacher and inspiration, left the workers of Canada and the world a priceless heritage. Lenin's heritage, assimilated by the masses of workers will put an end to capitalist wars and class violence and lead to a socialist world.

Colossal new crises developing out of the Second Imperialist World War shake society. After 20 years of unexampled defeats and reaction the working class on an international scale is lifting its head and entering into a great period of struggle. The British workers have thrust their labor leaders into power and anxiously watch the test. The vast colonial system of world imperialism trembles under the blows struck by the colonial peoples. The American Colossus is gripped in a nationwide strike struggle as labor resists Big Business's hunger and unemployment plans; her troops staging vast demonstrations across the globe reject her imperialist ambitions. The workers of Canada prepare to join their American brothers as the bosses prepare new attacks on wages and conditions.

## Lenin's Youth

Canadian militants must learn and arm themselves with the teachings of Lenin, for the crisis of mankind and civilization knows no other solution than the road of Lenin.

Lenin, who led the workers of Russia to victory in the October Revolution of 1917, had supreme confidence in the world working class. Born in 1870, he was the son of a director of elementary schools in the Volga provinces, and the brother of a revolutionist hung by the Czar. Within a month after he entered law school at Kazan University, Lenin was expelled for revolutionary activities. From Kazan he went to Petrograd to build the first working class cir-



NICKOLAI LENIN  
1870 - 1924

cle of revolutionists.

Lenin founded the "Union of the Struggle for the Emancipation of Labor" in Petrograd, wrote its leaflets, and published his first illegal pamphlet "On Fines." He strove to raise the workers from economic struggles to revolutionary socialist political action.

Imprisoned by the Czarist government and sent into Siberian exile in the 1890's, Lenin studied and wrote, pointing always to the need of building the working class party. In 1901, still in exile, he, together with other revolutionists, began the publication of Iskra (The Spark). Simultaneously he worked toward the formation of an underground organization.

In the Russian Revolution of 1905, Lenin played a leading part although he lived in Petrograd illegally. He was quick to see that the Soviets, the Workers' and Peasants' Councils, which sprang up spontaneously in the 1905 revolution, would be the form of rule in the workers' state. He regarded them as the greatest contribution of the 1905 events to the revolutionary struggle.

## Lenin Fought For Marxism

Years of reaction followed the 1905 revolution, but Lenin never lost heart. In emigration again in 1907, he helped to establish underground papers at Geneva, Paris and later at Cracow. Lenin fought tirelessly for Marxism, against all those who sought to revise, modify, and soften the theory of the class struggle leading to the dictatorship of the proletariat, which will insure genuine workers' democracy.

When the parties of the Second International capitulated to support of their capitalist governments at the outbreak of the First World War, Lenin and a handful of other true internationalists met at Zimmerwald to reaffirm the principles of Marxism. At Berne and in Zurich, he rallied a little group of workers to the banner of international socialism, writing joyously of every tiny gain.

Then came the February, 1917 revolution, overthrowing Czarism in Russia. Lenin returned from exile, to take his place at the head of his Bolshevik Party. For him the seizure of power by the working class was the only way to win peace, bread and land for the people.

During the July Days of 1917, the provisional government under Kerensky launched an assault against the Bolsheviks, falsely accusing them of being paid agents of German Kaiserism. Lenin was again forced into hiding. When a new revolutionary upsurge came in September, Lenin saw that the time had come for the workers to take power from the capitalists and their agents. Lenin won over the party majority; the Bolsheviks took the leadership of the insurrection; the revolution triumphed.

But there was grave danger to the young Soviet Republic. England, France, America, Japan, threw armies of intervention against the workers' state. Counter-revolutionary armies were launched with Allied aid; by 1918, acute famine gripped the country. The left Social Revolutionaries be-

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*Page 2*

gan a policy of terrorism against the government. On August 30, Lenin was shot and severely wounded by an SR terrorist, Fanny Kaplan. After many days of lingering between life and death, his powerful constitution and iron will prevailed. Lenin lived, although his health was impaired, until January 18, 1924.

### The Lessons of October

The Russian Revolution had shown the workers of the entire world the way to power. The masses led by the Bolsheviks had overthrown the capitalist property system, nationalized industry, and instituted a planned economy. Lenin, however, never envisaged this as the completion of the task. He was above all an internationalist. To him the October Revolution in Russia was only the first in a chain of uprisings which would sweep away capitalist privileges and power everywhere, and create the conditions for a socialist world. That is why he, together with Trotsky, founded the Third International to provide the necessary leadership for that struggle.

The wave of reaction which followed the defeats of other revolutions in Germany and Hungary inevitably had serious effects upon the Soviet Union and the Third International. After Lenin's death a gang of bureaucrats who spoke in Lenin's name but trampled upon

all his teachings and practices, rose to the top in the isolated workers' state. They consolidated their totalitarian rule. The monstrous crimes and betrayals of Stalinism—the opposite of Leninism—have greatly imperilled but not wiped out the basic gains of October—nationalized property and planned economy. These remain.

Lenin's great role as defender of Marxism against the attacks and revisionism of Struve, Kautsky and company alone would have ensured him immortality. Add to this the breath taking sweep of his ideas, the power of his analysis, his great ability to use the instrument of Marxism and we would still fall short of a correct estimate of his role and contributions... for his greatest contribution to the workers struggle for emancipation was the Bolshevik party.

### The Builder of the Party

At the turn of the century on a world scale Social Democracy had developed into loose sprawling parties. Their ranks were polluted with every form of perversion of the Marxist program. They became mere election machines conducting loyal oppositions in the capitalist parliaments and divorcing themselves from the real struggles of the workers. Lenin with an iron will and an inflexible purpose forged a new party—a combat party designed to attack the citadel of the enemy—capitalism.

In the great revolutionary wave that swept through the world after the last war Social Democracy collapsed and fell into the embrace of its capitalist masters. The Bolshevik Party, a Marxist Party, based on the principles of democratic centralism seized the opportunity and led the greatest revolution

in the history of mankind. The Russian revolution despite the betrayal of the Stalinist bureaucracy remains a tribute to Lenin's genius and is a product of the instrument of his genius—the revolutionary party.

Trotsky wrote in *The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International* that, "the historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership", that the working class again and again has moved onto the road of revolution but each time finds itself blocked and thwarted by its opportunist leaders. The history of the past 30 years is a history of revolutionary struggle betrayed by its leadership. Nowhere have the mass parties of reform raised the workers one step nearer their goal. Only the Bolshevik party of Lenin points the way.

### Leninism Lives

The Trotskyists rallied under the banner of the Fourth International carry on the real program of Lenin. Trotskyism rescuing Leninism from the smothering embrace of Stalin holds high these great doctrines. It is impossible to be a Leninist today and circumvent or slip over this movement of living Leninism, just as it is impossible to return to Marxism by skipping over Lenin and Bolshevism, by skipping over the October Revolution.

The fight for socialism is now more than a fight to end poverty and inequality, to abolish the exploitation of man by man. Today the fight for socialism is the fight to prevent the annihilation of the human race. Lenin's Road is the only road to socialism.

02-01-26

02-01-2

# FORUM

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## TWO LETTERS ON FORD STRIKE

Editor:

I have read with interest your analysis of the Ford strike, as well as the article by the CPA correspondent in *CCF News* to which you make reference. At least your article deals with the issues, whereas comment in the LPP-controlled press adds further proof that they have become so barren of theoretical argument that they can only indulge in name calling. Any critic becomes a "bosses agent", and that disposes of the matter!

Both the CPA article and yours, however, give the impression that sympathetic strike action called for in wires sent out by England, LPP president of Local 200, UAW, was a general strike. No such proposition was advanced. Instead the appeal was for a one-day strike. The move was obviously lacking in co-ordination since the date set for the nationwide stoppage coincided with a provincial holiday in British Columbia! The one-day strike (but nothing more) was taken up by the LPP labor leaders here, and used to discredit top CCL leaders, since they must find as many pretexts as possible before the next CCL convention.

Outside of the LPP labor spokesmen, the one-day stoppage met with little support amongst the rank and file or other union officials. Any common sense unionist realized that a one-day stoppage would not cripple production in Canada any more than one more holiday, nor would it bring the powerful Ford interests to their knees.

On the timing of the Windsor strike, more could be said. Compare their strategy with that of the CIO in the United States. All big unions waited until industry's strike against excess profits ended with the close of 1945.

I wish I could share your optimism about the general militancy abroad amongst the workers, whom you feel are only being held back by labor leaders. Your article does not explain away the preface to the CPA correspondent's statement that "a general strike would be industrial chaos and destruction of the union organizations", which preface points out "but 25 per cent of the work-

ers (are) organized;" "these workers (are) split into two main organizational camps;" "unions (are) at different stages of political awareness."

Finding ways and means to correct these indisputable weaknesses in the Canadian labor movement at the present time seems to me to be the most important lesson of the Ford strike.

*Labor Challenge* would serve the interests of the working class more effectively by putting the finger on the reasons for these three conditions, rather than castigating labor leaders for not calling general strikes under such circumstances. I hope to read more discussion along these lines in your columns. Constructive policy and discussion stimulates militancy. Mere criticism of leadership weakens faith, not in the leaders alone, but in the labor movement itself.

ENLEEN TALLMAN,  
Vancouver, B.C.

Editor:

I want to take issue with Ross Dowson on the article "The Balance Sheet of the Great Ford Strike." I disagree with him when he says that the workers should have come out in a general strike because they were ready. Only 25 per cent of Canadian workers are trade unionists. Only 16 per cent of the Canadian people voted CCF in the General Election last year.

I was in England in 1926 when the General Strike took place across Britain. The trade union movement there was a lot stronger than we have here. They lost because they were not socialist minded.

The worker must understand this is a class struggle and it must be the job of every socialist to educate and encourage his fellow worker to understand why there can never be peace between the boss and his slaves. Only when we own the means of production can we abolish slavery.

So, on the basis of my argument I believe that Millard, Conroy and Mosher were realistic enough to know that a general strike at this time would end in failure.

The trade union movement is as strong as its members' knowledge. They must learn and understand the class struggle.

CCF Stanley Park Club,  
MEMBER,  
Vancouver, B.C.

### AGAIN ON THE FORD STRIKE

When Local 195 joined the Ford workers on the picket line top CCL leaders disapproved claiming that it was "unsound policy." When Windsor labor appealed for a one day sympathy strike in support of their struggle, Mosher, Conroy, Millard and Company throttled it. Millard at a support the Ford Strike mass meeting of Toronto trade unionists characterized this appeal as a call to revolution. When even this met with the approval of the audience, though temporarily stunned he rose to the occasion with complete agreement BUT, "now is not the time, we are not yet ready."

The top leaders of the CCL and AFL are not yet required to answer to the Canadian workers for the social revolution but have to answer now for their role in fighting and defeating the only action that would have saved the Ford strike—the spreading of it.

If it were true that "the one day strike was taken up by the LPP to discredit top CCL leaders" then we must confess that their tactic worked. In the process however they discredited themselves. Instead of coming to grips, the LPP and CCL leaders became locked in a harmonious embrace. Conroy, Addes, Parent England and Burt all tread the same path with Kogan and the LPP machine in the forefront campaigning for the second vote

and the return to work with arbitration of union security.

While a cross-Canada one day stoppage would not have directly crippled Ford interests, it would have been recognized by the bosses as a powerful gesture of working class solidarity. To the Windsor worker's pressure on Ford would have been added pressure by other elements of struck capitalism and state forces urging a Ford settlement in the general interests of Canadian capitalism.

A general strike would have meant "industrial chaos" only for the bosses. As far as the workers are concerned the present state of affairs is one of industrial chaos. Far from destroying union organization a general strike would have been a great organizational creative force. The defeated and isolated general strike in Winnipeg 1919 transformed that city into one of the strongest labor centres in North America. Electing some of the first labor M.P.s (Woodsworth) it became the cradle of the CCF.

The columns of *Labor Challenge* are open for discussion on ways and means of correcting the "indisputable weaknesses in Canadian Labor." But what weaknesses did the defeat of the Ford workers expose? That the workers are not militant? In the first vote on the Mitchell formula the workers rejected the sell-out of their combined LPP-CCL leadership. The Ford strike was met with an unprecedented response of militancy and solidarity from Canadian labor. The great weakness in Canadian Labor that the Ford strike exposes is the unfitness of its leadership.

ROSS DOWSON.

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# SEVEN MONTHS OF LABOR PARTY RULE

By ROSS DOWSON

The workers and oppressed peoples throughout the world hailed the overwhelming victory of the British Labor Party. Last August for the first time in its history the Labor Party obtained a complete majority. Campaigning under the most radical program of reform in its history, it swept from office arch-reactionary Winston Churchill and decimated his party. National hatreds developed during the war years by the capitalist war-mongers were undermined by the labor victory. The Indian peasant, African slave, Arab fellah, and the Italian and German worker all joyfully greeted the victory of their English comrades. The oppressed masses witnessing the political defeat of the boss politicians patiently waited the destruction of the most ruthless system of exploitation—English imperialism.

World capitalism was staggered by this great victory. The stock markets slumped. Pessimism spread through their ranks. They feared this victory and what it could mean. But the first great wave of anger and fear has now abated. Instead confusion and consternation fills labor's ranks. In the short period of seven months a great gap has been exposed between the program and action, between the words and deeds of the British labor leaders.

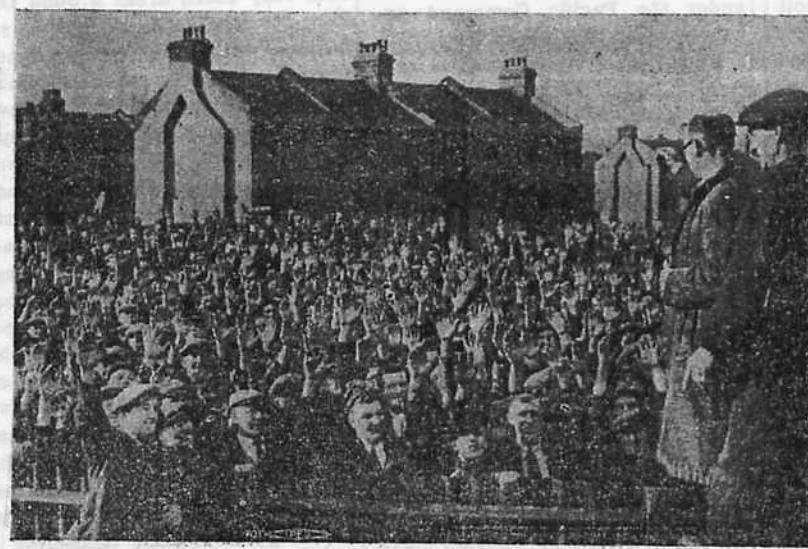
In the House of Commons, Conservative M.P.s chide the Labor Party for its failure to speed the mobilization of British workers in uniform. In the past week thousands of R.A.F. personnel have gone on strike against the Labor Government demanding immediate repatriation.

## ABOR. PARTY'S HOME POLICY

In November, a national dockers' strike gripped the British Isles. The dockworkers, demanding an increase in their starvation wages, were met by slanderous attack from their labor M.P.s. Ellen Wilkinson, P., nick-named "Red Ellen" on her militant working class days, hysterically attacked the dockworkers for the possible rationing of bread. Isaacs, Minister of Labor, while claiming government non-intervention sent in thousands of troops to scab and smash the strikes.

The nationalization of the Bank of England moved the Liberal P. C. Davies to comment: Shareholders might be queuing

## VOTING TO STAY ON STRIKE



London longshoremen voting to remain on strike against the threats of union and Labor Party officialdom during last November's militant strike. The workers demand \$5 a day and a 40 hour week from the shipowners and port authorities. Betrayed by the Labor leaders but not broken 7,000 staged a one day strike on Feb. 6th protesting delay in payment of back wages.

up for the terms Mr. Dalton is prepared to give". The Labor Party's terms to the shareholders guarantees them a return slightly above the returns that they have been milking from the British workers in the past. The government has just conceded £58,000,000 of 3% government stock in payment for £14,500,000 that paid 12%. The majority of the old governors are retained including Montague Norman (Lord Catta) and the capitalists are quite satisfied with the nationalization.

## LABOR PARTY'S FOREIGN POLICY

While at home the British Labor leaders fail to resolve the housing crisis and even now threaten to depress further the already starvation rations by the possible ration of bread, abroad Bevin blasts the Indonesians with American cannon manned by English and Colonial troops. It was with a great sigh of relief that world capitalism heard Bevin's first speech on foreign policy. But here the Labor leaders did not stop at words but in action proved their loyalty to Churchill's imperialist policies. If the Labor leaders' foreign policy appears even more reactionary than their national policy it is only because the sharpening class struggles and the new attempts by the big powers at world alignment leave less field for manoeuvre.

The most politically conscious elements in the CCF have been shocked by the cynical continuance by the Labor leaders of Churchill's foreign policy. A

short time ago, Carlyle King, leader of the Saskatchewan CCF, issued a statement sharply attacking the British government's role in Indonesia. Clubs have passed resolutions condemning the use of British troops in Indonesia. In order to counteract this development of class solidarity in the CCF, David Lewis, CCF National Secretary, published an article in the B.C. CCF News (Jan. 31, 1946) completely whitewashing the British Labor leaders.

Commencing with a sly tribute to the rise of interest in international affairs in the CCF, Lewis goes on to attack those who stand for a principled political position in international affairs. The object of his attack are those who stand on the principled program of international socialism. "These doctrinaire dogmatists," according to Lewis, "fail to take sufficient account of the complexities of world problems which impede progress towards a rational solution and deflect international policy from the ideal." And that is not all. "They damn the USSR for its policies in Eastern Europe and UNO, they belittle the British Labor Government as not being socialist enough, they deride UNO as being merely power politics and entirely hopeless."

## LEWIS HOPES

Lewis's advice to Canadian labor is to think beautiful thoughts about UNO, the British Labor leaders and the Stalinist bureaucracy and all will work out for the best. Lewis's beautiful thoughts tell him that "there is

reason for solid hope to believe that international agencies and policies will be adapted and improved as greater confidence is established and experience gained." The basis for these solid hopes and beliefs he fails to divulge.

Who can hope or believe in UNO as an instrument of peace after the first session held in London this week? The past week's wrangling prove that the war, which Lewis also thought beautiful thoughts of and helped lead Canadian youth into, failed to solve any of the massive contradictions facing the imperialist powers. The great economic forces that drive capitalism to war, the struggle for colonies and spheres of influence can not be settled at UNO but can only be solved on the battlefields—the battlefields of the class struggle or imperialist war. The only force for peace is the international working class and the only solution the socialist revolution. What business have the British Labor leaders in bolstering up this rotten deception . . . in maintaining unity in this field? British capitalism but not British labor has every interest in maintaining this deception.

## BEVIN FOLLOWS CHURCHILL'S LINE

What new light does Lewis throw on British policy in Europe that gives him "similar reason for satisfaction in hope"? To call Greece "Churchill's outrage" is false since Bevin and Attlee in the Coalition cabinet completely endorsed the massacre of EAM-ELAS. Has this policy changed with Under Secretary MacNeil's direct contact with the situation? "The Greek government has been broadened"—yes, to include all the reactionary elements! Lewis hails the postponement of the plebiscite on the monarchy as a victory against monarchist forces. In the meantime, the Bonapartist Greek government propped up on British bayonets permits monarchist terrorist groups to conduct vicious pogroms against the working class.

The Italian monarchy hopelessly discredited in the eyes of the masses no longer receives the open support of American imperialism, British capitalism or the labor leaders Bevin-Attlee. Instead they bolster up a Bonapart-

→ to page 2

ist government which is viciously anti-working class.

In Germany, Lewis deplores the lack of a coordinated allied policy. He sees in occupied Germany only "confusion and disagreement". What should alarm all genuine socialists is that that British Labor Government's policy is indistinguishable from that of reactionary American imperialism. In Germany there is no confusion, or basic disagreement between American, French, Russian or British occupying forces. All are subjugating the German people, dismembering, and shattering German economy with the subsequent pauperization of the German masses—all in the name of peace . . . and the Atlantic Charter.

#### INDONESIA THE TEST

But Indonesia remains the great testing point for the British labor leaders. Lewis regrets and "feels unhappy" about the situation but hurriedly states that doubts regarding British motives on Java are utterly unjustified, and outright condemnation of the government unwarranted. The British Labor Government's attempt to ruthlessly drown in blood the independence movement, he says, is "a piece of bad luck rather than bad intention".

He slanderously pictures the Indonesians as primitive and even savage and attempts to alarm us by the threat of Japanese troops roaming the islands at large. British troops brought with them the superior culture of British imperialism and pillaged and burned the native villages. The "degenerate" Japanese troops remained to be used by the British "protectors of internees" against the independence movement. Why the British forces endowed by Lewis with the role of receiving the surrender of Japanese troops and liberating internees should meet with opposition from the independence movement remains a mystery. The financial interests of British capitalism provide us with a more logical reason for the presence of its troops in Indonesia. No filial relations with the Dutch but protection of \$200,000,000 worth of British capital determined Labor Party intervention. This is what determined British actions, plus the fear of the spreading of the colonial revolt in India, Arabia etc.

British actions were "in accordance with the Potsdam agreement and on instructions from the Pacific High Command" and

to do otherwise, according to Lewis, "would have meant to go back on an obligation undertaken under the Pacific Command on behalf of all the Allies."

Under what obligations is the British Labor Government to her imperialist allies? Is the British Labor Government responsible to American imperialism, the Stalinist bureaucracy, or is it responsible to the oppressed peoples of the world? The Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam agreements are reactionary agreements between the reactionary world powers. These agreements with their reparations, balkanization of the world and maintenance of capitalist "law and order" have nothing in common with socialist principles. Their main aim is to suppress the common enemy of all the powers—the working class—and to prevent any revolutionary development in Europe or the colonial world. This is the real obligation undertaken by the British Labor leaders "under the Pacific Command on behalf of all the Allies".

#### REMEMBER BEKASI

Reduced to grasping at straws in his defense of the destruction of the Indonesian independence movement, Lewis reports that "the British have kept the fighting down to a minimum". Mr. Lewis' assurance that there was no wanton needless burning of villages, looting, or killing is most consoling. This callous apology for imperialist murder and destruction finds a parallel in a reply that tory Chamberlain gave to an M.P. in the British House of Commons who protested the bombing of native tribesmen in the Indian border states. Chamberlain replied that there were caves in the vicinity for the natives to hide in from the bomb explosions.

The conciliatory relations that Lewis relates as existing between the independence movement and the British authorities makes one wonder if the Bekasi outrage and the murder of several thousand Javanese are an invention. He claims that: "the native government is given full freedom to pursue its organization and propaganda", and that "the British have almost given the native government de facto recognition by asking it for assistance to maintain order".

The independence movement has the support of the entire population. Even the wealthy sultans, former instruments of Dutch rule

have rallied to its banners. The British, Japanese and Dutch forces hold only small areas around the four principal cities. British relations with the independence movement have been determined by the lack of support that they have found among any elements of the population, the mutinous atmosphere that hangs over her own troops, and the wide protests that have met her criminal actions. The British desire to come to terms with persons more conciliatory to British policy, sometimes called "responsible elements". What Lewis calls de facto recognition of the native government is the recognition that a boss gives a union when he hires scabs to break a picket line.

We might re-formulate Lewis' challenge to anyone imagining a British Tory government acting in this way toward a native independence movement by asking: "Have Tory governments ever acted otherwise?" And who are most of the colonial administrators of the Labor Government if not Tories? At a recent conference of Allied military leaders held in Singapore, Lord Louis Mountbatten retained by the Labor Government as Supreme Commander in the Far East called for: "A strong policy—more force and more troops". Is this the

(Continued on page 6)

## Labor Party in Power

(Continued from page 2)

language of de facto recognition or of conciliation?

#### THE DUTY OF A LABOR GOVERNMENT

The workers of Canada do not demand "unanimity" or "infallibility" of the British Labor leaders but they have every right to demand actions in the interest of the world working class. They have every right to demand an end of the rule of British Imperialism and freedom for the colonial peoples.

The betrayal of the British Labor leaders and Mr. Lewis' blanket endorsement of their reactionary policies must serve as a warning to the Canadian workers. There are no short cuts to the solution of the problems of the British workers or the workers of the world. The road to socialism is a road of consistent and principled struggle against capitalism. All forms of conciliation and collaboration with the bosses lead to defeat.

The solution of the problems of the British workers does not lie in the British Labor leaders jockeying with the temporary differences between her capitalist enemies nor in the maintenance of the colonial possessions of British capitalism and the suppression of the colonial peoples. It lies in a British socialist economy integrated into a Socialist United States of Europe in free association with the independent native peoples. This is the only "world unity" that is possible and this is what socialist solidarity means.

02-15-16

# LABOR CHALLENGE

VOL. II. No. 4.

TORONTO, ONT., MARCH, 1946

PRICE, 5 CENTS

## Strikes Force Withdrawal of Overseas Men

By D. WHITESIDE

The statement, on February 15, by Prime Minister Mackenzie King that the Canadian Occupation Force of 35,000 troops and airmen would be withdrawn, followed on the heels of the strikes of the R.C.A.F. in England and the sit-down strike of the Highland Light Infantry Regiment at Delmenhorst in Germany. King's promise that all overseas forces would be repatriated before the end of this year can be attributed to the fear of the Canadian government that the servicemen's strikes might reach the proportions of the world-wide demonstrations and the R.A.F. strikes in India.

The government had no desire to withdraw the occupation forces, small as they were in comparison to the armies of the U.S., England and Russia, the fact that Canada as sharing in the suppression of European people enhanced the growing power of the Canadian capitalist class in the division of spoils of war. However, faced with the possibility of the strikes spreading throughout the occupation forces, it became obvious at the cost of maintaining the occupation army would outweigh the benefits that might accrue from it.

In spite of the threats made by Mr. Minister Gibson against the C.A.F. strikers — threats of courts martial for the men and loss of allowances for their families — the return to work by the C.A.F. ground crews did not mean that the movement of protest was crushed. A week later broke out again. The Highland Light Infantry Regiment, made up of volunteers for the occupation army, staged a five and a half hour sit-down strike in Germany. This strike was in protest against rotten food and living conditions and lack of definite knowledge of when they would return home. Like their airmen comrades in England they received the same recks of reprisals from the Occupation Force Commander, Major-General Vokes. Vokes characterized the sit-down as "childlike" and said that, "the Canadian Government in good time" would make whatever announcement it wanted regarding repatriation. (Continued on page 6)

## CCL Launches Wage Campaign

### Fighting for India's Independence



Indian workers fought back with bamboo sticks when British officials ordered the police to break up a peaceful independence demonstration in Bombay, India, on January 24. Casualties were 40 killed and 50 wounded—more martyrs in India's struggle to throw off the yoke of imperialist oppression.

## Mutiny In Navy Touches Off Widespread Indian Revolt

By JAMES MARTIN

The full military power of British imperialism has been hurled against the Indian people to crush the strikes and demonstrations called in sympathy with the mutiny of 7,000 seamen of the Royal Indian Navy. The movement, spreading to Bombay, Calcutta, Karachi, Poona and Madras, reached such a scope that government officials called it "open rebellion." Before "order" was restored, over 250 Indians had been killed and 1,500 wounded.

Prime Minister Attlee of the British Imperialist Labor Government blamed the rising on "left-wing elements and communists" and called for unconditional surrender of the mutineers. Vice

Admiral Godfrey, Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Navy told the mutineers in a broadcast that they had "completely lost control of their senses". He warned them of the "overwhelming forces" at the disposal of the Empire which would be "used to the utmost, even if it means destruction of the Royal Indian Navy."

60 large textile mills struck in sympathy.

Appealing to Indian political leaders for support, the Central Naval Strike Committee said the strikers had been suffering "untold hardships regarding pay, food and most outrageous racial discrimination. The appeal was directed particularly to the Indian Communist Party and met with no response. Sardar Patel, member of the National Congress Party working committee urged the strikers and the people to do nothing to aggravate the "present state of high tension." Ghandi called for an end to the "thoughtless orgy of violence."

### STRIKERS GO BACK

After an exchange of gunfire with British artillery the sailors were forced to surrender. The Central Strike Committee stated

### ORGANIZES FOR NATIONAL FIGHT TO CUT HOURS

By GEORGE MARTELL

A long step forward in the fight for higher wages and reduced hours was taken by the Executive Council of the Canadian Congress of Labor at its meeting on February 13-14 in Ottawa. The Council appointed a five-man wage co-ordination committee to launch a campaign for the following objectives:

1. For the 40-hour week—instead of the present 45-48 hours—without reduction in take-home pay.
2. Retention of price controls and government subsidies to agricultural products and other necessities to prevent rising prices.
3. Abolition of war-time wage-controls and the return to direct collective bargaining between unions and management.

In harmony with the decisions of the Council, Canadian locals of the United Automobile Workers met here on February 26th and drew up their basic demand of a \$2 per day increase in wages coupled with a 40-hour week. 40 delegates from 13 Ontario communities attended the meeting. They represented about 50,000 workers in nearly 100 plants of the automobile, automotive parts and the farm implements industry.

Prior to the CCL Council meeting steel workers had already formulated their demands for a reduction of hours to a 40-hour week and a uniform national wage. Similar drives are being prepared in the rubber, packinghouse, electrical, coal, metal mining and smelting industries.

### THE TIME IS NOW

The CCL drive is commencing under singularly favorable conditions. Canadian unions have before them the inspiring example of the great victory of the CIO in the United States where strikes of over 2,000,000 workers in the mass production industries brought Big Business to its knees. Steel, auto, electrical and other workers have won larger wage increases than at any other single time in the history of strike struggles in the U.S.

## Quebec Workers Smash

03-01-7

India's Independence

# THE SPY SCARE

By PAUL KANE

Canada stepped into the international limelight last week with the unfolding of a super spy scare story. Rumors and counter-rumors filled the air. Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, and Edmonton were crawling with spies, seeking radar secrets, atomic bomb data, and information on the Musko operation. Two hundred were active in Montreal, the spy base as in Toronto. Hundreds were being rounded up by the R.C.M.P. Half a million dollars worth ofadium was alleged to have disappeared.

In the first period of the campaign the identity of the nation involved remained unrevealed. Even to this day the persons held in custody are unknown to the public. Everything was cloaked in an air of mystery and hush-hush. Certain foreign powers with unlimited funds allegedly were taking great efforts to obtain unknown secrets. Prime Minister King's first statement was cautious: "there had been disclosures of secret and confidential information . . . to members of the staff of a foreign mission in Ottawa."

An unidentified Federal cabinet minister was the first to disclose the identity of the power which the press had scarcely concealed. What nation is it?—Obviously is Soviet Russia." The disclosure of the power in question sounded the clarion call to all the drum-beating, platform brawlers to launch an unbridled anti-Soviet campaign. Ontario premier Drew led the outcry. Duress followed close behind. George Dempster of the notorious Lebel Enquiry was roused from the dead. All the professional red-baiters and anti-Soviet ticks sprang into action again.

## MYSTERY CLOAKS INVESTIGATION

As the campaign continued, it was clear what the Soviet spies were after, and how successful they had been, became more and more certain. J. F. Byrnes, United States Secretary of State, declared flatly that "the knowledge of our bomb production remains exclusively in the hands of the United States." K. P. Patrick, Canadian radar specialist, remarked: "The bulk of information on radar can no longer be considered as secret. There are reasons for believing that radar experts will not prove to have attracted much attention from the espionage groups' operations in Canada."

The military and airforce Operation Musko would likewise prove to be of limited interest to "Foreign Power". A newspaper

story tells us that "no nation possesses as much knowledge of the Arctic or has Arctic bases as does Russia." Correspondents attached to the expedition report that there has been no censorship and that they were requested to withhold information on only two points. Nothing was to be said of the number of U.S. observers on the trip and nothing was to be released on Loran, a new long range type of radar. They remark, however, that a story on Loran appeared recently in a Winnipeg newspaper.

As the air cleared during the latter part of the week the Royal Commission, appointed to investigate the espionage charges, reported that they were holding eleven men and two women in custody. It now appears that these persons once said to be "in high places" are for the most part minor and unimportant government clerks who had no access to the doubly-protected atomic bomb secrets which it was revealed Canada does not possess anyway.

## ALL COUNTRIES HAVE AGENTS

Undoubtedly if the government makes its revelations public it will disclose the existence of Soviet agents operating in Canada. They will probably play up this "discovery" as a sensational exposé although every schoolboy knows that all the important powers maintain staffs of secret operators on the territory of other, and even friendly nations. Not long ago the U.S. government enlarged and streamlined its secret service on foreign soil. Through counter-espionage most of the governments are aware of espionage activities on their own soil and can usually seize foreign agents at will.

Perhaps the disclosures will show a direct link with the LPP. For the conscious worker this can hardly come as a surprise since anyone who has followed Stalinist policy through all its zigzags is well aware of the dependence of the national Stalinist leaders on the Soviet bureaucracy. The utilization of this information by the government to outlaw the LPP would have as its primary aim not the pursuit of "foreign agents" but the pretext for launching a campaign to intimidate the whole Canadian labor movement.

M. J. Coldwell, national leader of the CCF, was cast in the drama as a faithful retainer of the King government. He had nothing to say about the underlying political motives behind the Ottawa spy-scare. But he told how he had

been entrusted with the secret of the spy activities as long ago as last August when King also informed Truman. Coldwell, who only last September had requested that atomic bomb secrets be placed in the hands of the United Nations, now demanded that the guilty be prosecuted to the full extent of the law. He never questioned the law, however, which in this case permits the government to retain the accused incommunicado, uncharged and without the right to habeas corpus.

## LPP AND THE SPY SCARE

Tim Buck, national leader of the LPP, had little to say save to deny that the LPP had any connection with the affair and to bemoan the lack of genuine desire on the part of some elements in Canada for genuine peace and friendly relations with the USSR. Although still faithful to Prime Minister King, whom he praises for his moderating and restraining role, Buck bitterly complains that "the entire perspective of international cooperation between the Socialist and capitalist sectors of the world is endangered". In line with Coldwell he states that "It is quite obvious that our government has to act if it receives information of undoubted authenticity as Prime Minister King stated."

The timing and exposure of the plot and its furious anti-Soviet character once again reveals that the greatest contradiction in world society today is the isolated existence of the Soviet Union in a capitalist world. The crisis of world capitalism, from which the anti-Soviet spy scare stems, likewise turned the diplomatic-thieves kitchen, the United Nations, into such a turmoil last month.

The Soviet Union, encompassing one sixth of the globe with her vast resources cut off from capitalist exploitation, would sustain world capitalism for another historic period. Stalin, faced with the unconcealed hostility of the capitalist enemy, is compelled to extend his base and integrate Soviet occupied Europe into his economy, further developing hostility of his erstwhile allies.

## PREPARATIONS NEXT WAR

Before it has digested the spoils of World War II, world capitalism

03-01-2

## Seamen Prepare to Strike for 8-Hour Day

MONTREAL, Que.—The Convention of the Canadian Seamen's Union (AFL) opened in a militant mood here, February 25.

Pat Sullivan, union president, stated that the end of the war had ended the "no-strike pledge." Speaking of a fight to the end against the 12-hour seven-day week now worked by Canadian seamen, he said, "This organization will strike when its membership decides it is going to strike, and we will use any other methods we consider necessary for our well being."

This fighting talk was welcomed by the delegates who are fed up with their rotten conditions and are prepared to fight the ship-owners to a showdown.

is preparing to indoctrinate the war-weary masses for the next imperialist war. They are attempting to undermine the great feeling of solidarity aroused in the working class by the heroic defenders of the remaining conquests of the October Revolution.

The anti-Soviet campaign demonstrates once again that the Soviet Union can never be defended by Stalin's diplomatic manoeuvres with world imperialism or by Buck's toadying to King and the so-called "progressive" capitalists. Only the working class of the world and the oppressed peoples of the colonies can be relied on for the defence of the USSR against imperialism.

# IMPERIALISTS THREATEN NEW WAR

## Arrest Stalinist MP In Anti-Soviet Drive

As we go to press, parliamentary debates are about open on the arrest of Fred Rose, the Stalinist Labor Progressive Party MP for Montreal-Cartier. Rose is officially charged with acting as an intermediary in the transmission of government information to secret operatives of the Soviet Union.

The arrest of Rose is only one aspect of the furious anti-Soviet drive now in progress, a drive in which both liberals and Tories are tilted to the left. The spy scare this country was the signal for dilute speeches of official and unofficial representatives of American and British Imperialism as evidence of timing is bared the official admission that the formation concerning espionage was in the hands of the authorities as early as last September.

It is obvious, however, that Churchill's blustering threats against the propaganda drive to the edge of the precipice. Unlike at this time to pass from words to action, American and British imperialism have been obliged to permit the anti-Soviet drive to subside until the next favorable opportunity. Nevertheless, the Canadian capitalist class appears determined to gain the most advantage out of the spy scare, if not for external then for internal purposes.

From all indications, it appears that the arrest of Fred Rose heralds broader repressive measures against the entire Stalinist L.P.P. One of the signs of such intention is the ominous appearance in the case of R.C.M.P. Inspector Eppold, alias "Comrade" Esselstein, the stool-pigeon who was a key government figure in the come-up trial against the Communist Party in the early thirties.

State suppression of the L.P.P. will be one of the methods whereby the King administration covers

up its complete bankruptcy on the home front, its failure to provide jobs for returning veterans, alleviate the housing crisis and to enact the most elementary labor legislation. It will be used as a weapon against the trade union movement which is now preparing to follow the example of their successful American brothers in nation-wide picket lines for higher wages and a reduction in hours.

That the spy scare, culminating in repressive measures against the L.P.P., will be utilized against every militant worker, every progressive union was clearly demonstrated in Premier Drew's speech to the Ontario house. His answer to the combined demands of AFL and O.C.W.R. representatives for action on his election promises was a threat that the Tory government plans to intervene in the internal affairs of the unions if they themselves do not "purge the communists."

It is one of the ironies of recent times that Rose's arrest was ordered by Prime Minister Mackenzie King who was supported by Rose and the Stalinists in the 1945 elections and throughout the war, and who was advertised by them as a "friend of the Soviet Union" and a "foe of fascism."

Yet despite our most uncompromising opposition to the methods and policies of the Stalinists, we warn the labor movement that persecution of the L.P.P. will only be the opening gun for general persecution against every progressive tendency in the working class.

## Unleash Propaganda Attack on Soviet Union

### AN EDITORIAL

The Third World War looms sharply on the horizon. It has already entered its first phase—the propaganda phase. Unless a socialist revolution occurs in the interim, the next years will see the war of words transformed into a war of guns. Capitalist politicians and militarists openly declare that they have no intention of permitting the sword to be beaten into the plough-share. But they are already refashioning the high-sounding slogans of peace into the battle cries of the next imperialist war.

There are no diplomatic niceties in this propaganda offensive. The "enemy"—the Soviet Union—is openly named and denounced. Tirades against the Soviet Union bear the seal of official policy. It was fitting that the first shot in the propaganda war against the Soviet Union should have been fired by Ernest Bevin, the "socialist" lackey of British imperialism. The fact that Bevin was a "Labor" minister bemused the Coldwells and Knowles into the unparalleled stupidity of seeing in the clashes at U.N.O. a conflict between "socialism and communism." It did not take long for "socialism" to find some very strange allies.

First was Arthur Vandenberg, Republican Senator, who rose in Congress to denounce the Soviet Union for "pouring salt on reopened wounds" and to demand blunt, plain speaking towards the former Russian ally. On the following day, James F. Byrnes, Secretary of State and advocate of "white supremacy", took the rostrum to threaten the Soviet Union with the might of American imperialism. The language was veiled but the meaning was no less plain.

### Churchill's Speech

Finally, as the grand climax under the sponsorship of the President of the United States, Winston Churchill, for 29 years the arch-foe of the Soviets, made the welkin

ring with his attacks on "communism". Churchill's speech had the sole merit of being outspoken and concrete. He left no doubt that the Soviet Union was the modern "anti-Christ" against whom a "holy crusade" must be organized. He proposed a military alliance between American and British Imperialism against the Soviet Union, bolstered by the threat of atomic warfare.

Naturally every Soviet-hater, particularly those in high places, conclude their bitter execrations of the Soviet Union with the pious platitudes that another war is "not inevitable", that war against the "greatly" of yesterday is "unthinkable". But this too is part of the time-honoured preparation for war: to put the onus of responsibility on the other side. Vandenberg made it explicit. "If there be any failure, let not the blood be on our hands nor the tragedy upon our souls."

### No Formal Alliance

Let no one be deceived that the cool reception accorded Churchill's proposal for a British-American alliance in the U.S. Congress changes anything fundamentally. All that the Congressmen rejected was the terms of the alliance which would commit American imperialism to a defense of the British Empire. This military alliance existed throughout the war. The Soviet Union was only a temporary ally of the American-British partnership. Roosevelt and Churchill followed the practise of coming to an agreement first before they consulted Stalin. Innumerable conferences between the powers were held in Washington, London, Quebec, Casablanca and elsewhere without the participation of Soviet representatives.

Since the war the combined military staffs of the United States and Great Britain have been meeting continuously in secret session in the American capital. There are no Russian representatives in

(Continued on page 4)

### Preparing for World War III



## IMPERIALISTS THREATEN NEW WORLD WAR

(Continued from page 1)

these conferences as there are no Russian representatives on "Operation Muskox" which cannot possibly be directed against any other power than the Soviet Union. The apprehension of Soviet spies in peacetime by the R.C.M.P. produced a storm of official hysteria that outstrips by far any of the campaigns against Nazi agents in the very midst of the war.

American imperialism has no need to change the form of the alliance as it exists today in which Great Britain is a junior partner. Why indeed should it give equal status to a nation to whom loans must be made in the form of "gifts" to buttress "the last barrier in Europe against Communism," according to the contemptuous statement of the former Ambassador to the Court of St. James, Joseph P. Kennedy? Furthermore, the time is not yet

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# LABOR CHALLENGE

A twice-monthly paper bringing the truth about labor's struggle for socialism to the working people of Canada.

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Page 2

for such open warlike measures as Churchill proposed. This is a period for pressure, propaganda and preparation.

## Aims of Pressure Campaign

The pressure of Anglo-American imperialism is aimed first of all against Soviet expansion in eastern Europe over which Churchill fumed "an iron curtain has been drawn". The object of the pressure is first of all to intimidate the Stalinist bureaucracy from any further nationalization of property in these countries and secondly to force their abandonment as military spheres of influence. The pressure is aimed also against the extension of Russian influence in the middle East, which guards the lifelines of the British Empire, and in Asia, the richest prey for imperialist exploitation. Basically, this pressure is directed against the Soviet Union with the object of undermining or destroying its nationalized economy which bars one-sixth of the world from capitalist exploitation.

## Alienate Sympathy of Masses

Anti-Soviet propaganda follows the line of alienating the sympathies of the working people of the world from the Soviet Union, of breaking down the esteem built for the Soviet Union by the October Revolution and the heroic struggles of the Red Army. Thanks to Stalin, this propaganda is having its effect—the prestige of the Soviet Union is steadily sinking. When the imperialist spokesmen hypocritically charge the Soviet Union with the forcible occupation of other nations, with a brutal policy of repressions, of denials of civil liberties with looting and the removal of goods and machinery, the Vyshinskys and the Molotovs have no argument. Their only retort is the cynical—if equally truthful—accusation that the imperialists act no differently in the countries they occupy, like Greece, or in the colonies.

It is such vile exhibitions as these that drive the sympathies out of the hearts of the working class for the country where the first successful workers' revolution took place. We do not speak here of the millions who live under the heel of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the Red Army martinetts. We speak of the workers in western Europe and in the western hemisphere who must

ask themselves: why should we support the Soviet Union when it behaves no differently than the imperialist powers? We speak of the people of India who say that the policy of the Soviet Union has changed that it now seems to resemble that of the Czar.

In truth it has changed. Under Lenin and Trotsky, the Soviet Union was a beacon light of freedom to all oppressed peoples. Then it denounced all reparations and annexations, it offered self-determination to all people and gave it to those who desired separation, it renounced all special privileges and spheres of influence. It sounded a clarion call to the toiling people of the world to struggle for a free federation of Socialist States. This was the true communism.

## Defend the Soviet Union

Yet it would be a fatal error if the workers of Canada and the rest of the world renounced the Soviet Union because of the crimes of Stalin. It would be far more costly than abandoning a trade union because of the crimes of the bureaucracy. When capitalists attack crookedness and racketeering in union officials they are in reality aiming their blows at the union itself. We know that in most cases it is the bosses themselves who promote corruption in an effort to buy off the labor leaders.

When the imperialists attack the brutal and dictatorial methods of the Stalinist bureaucracy their attacks are directed at the Soviet Union itself. Violence, repres-

sion and dictatorship are the accepted methods of imperialist rule. Look at India. Look at Indonesia. Look at Greece. Or come closer home: look at police violence against the strikes in the U.S. Furthermore, the imperialists would not hesitate for a moment to combine with Stalin in suppressing a strike, a peasants rising, a workers' revolution.

Trotsky wrote in 1940: "To turn one's back on the nationalization of the means of production on the ground that in and of itself it does not create the well being of the masses is tantamount to sentencing a granite foundation to destruction on the ground that it is impossible to live without walls and a roof. The class conscious worker knows that a successful struggle for complete emancipation is unthinkable without the defense of conquests already gained, however modest these may be. All the more obligatory therefore is the defense of so colossal a conquest as planned economy against the restoration of capitalist relations. Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones."

By disarming the Russian workers politically, by sabotaging the struggle for socialism in the capitalist world the Stalinist bureaucracy undermines this defense. "Only the world revolution," Trotsky wrote, "can save the U.S.S.R. for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy."

03-15-16

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# LABOR CHALLENGE

Vol. II No. 5 - Mid-March 1946

03-15-2

## DREW STALLS ON LABOR LAWS

(Continued from page 1)  
industry. Charged with failure to carry out his election promises to labor he called to his defence the still pending Dominion-Provincial Conference which he claimed prohibits any "premature" moves. Although at the Dominion-Provincial Conferences Drew has been adamant in his opposition to the surrender of any provincial rights to the Dominion government.

The reception that this spokesman of Bay Street interests gave the Labor Lobby and labor brief makes it crystal clear that there will be no gifts of labor legislation. The Legislation that the union centres demand will only be won on the picket lines in militant struggle against the bosses and their agents seated in Queen's Park.

### RFD-BAITING AS SUBSTITUTION FOR REFORMS

Roused by the hostile and solid front of labor Drew opened up with a blast of red-baiting. Hoping to split labor ranks he had the audacity to demand that labor accept some advice from his capitalist government. Purge the unions of communists, was his demand. The attack was quickly followed up by Labor Minister Daley and Hamilton MPP R. E. Elliott who cried, "the working man is satisfied with the present labor laws . . . it's the communists . . . who at times like to cause trouble." But labor was not suckled in by his reactionary trick. The following day Elliott was roundly rebuked by Hamilton labor.

The annual convention of the Ontario Federation of Labor CCL also passed a resolution which declared: "that the relationships within the house of labor are a matter for labor itself and that Mr. Drew will better serve the interests of the people of this province by taking action to provide full employment, decent wages, union security and proper housing."

Anti-labor, red baiter, big business stooge, George Drew found his logical place at the head of the howling pack of anti-soviet forces who have been given new vigor by the spy hunt. His attack which began in the House, directed against Stalinists A. A. MacLeod and J. B. Salsberg, culminated in a speech at a meeting of the Credit Granters Association

\* where he called for war on the Soviet Union.

After attempting to smear all the labor demands as initiated by the LPP and thus inspired by the Stalinist Bureaucracy, Drew moved on to deprive the LPP of recognition in the Legislature as a minority party. On March 6, the speaker refused to grant the Stalinist M.P.P.'s office space in the Legislature. On March 12, Speaker Stewart refused to recognize A. A. MacLeod as the third opposition party speaker. The eight CCF M.P.'s and Alex Parent did not lift a hand to protest this denial of minority party rights.

The entire labor movement rejected Drew's foul attempt to split its ranks and camouflage his failure to provide full employment, union security, housing, decent wages, etc. United and with a program of militant demands the CCL and AFL must prepare to carry their struggle against the bosses and their parliamentary agents to victory on the picket lines.

## Drew Passes Buck On New Labor Laws

By PAUL KANE

Ontario's Conservative Premier George Drew, after returning from a vacation with arch reactionary Winston Churchill, opened last week's session of the House with a violent attack against labor, the Stalinist Labor Progressive Party and the Soviet Union.

The session opened amidst a fanfare of brass bands, gold braid, and cannon salutes. The throne speech although the longest heard in the House for 29 years was as D. A. Dunlop, president of the Ontario Trades and Labor Congress (AFL), remarked, the usual "big armful of nothing." The speech wound up with the presentation of 32 government bills covering a great variety of questions. But not one of the Drew bills dealt with any of the real problems confronting Ontario workers and farmers.

The delegation representing Ontario AFL unions and the brief presented by the Ontario Federation of Labor CCL received a hostile reception. Included in their demands were: the 40 hour week with proportional hourly increases to maintain the present take home pay, 65 per cent an hour minimum wage, two weeks vacation with pay, and a proposed national labor code which would make union security mandatory

when requested by a majority of employees, etc. Representatives of the Executives of both trade union centres conferred with the eight CCF members of the House at a meeting sponsored by the CCF Trade Union Committee in order to introduce amendments to the present labor legislation. The trade union demands have been supported in the House by both the LPP and CCF members of parliament.

### DREW PASSES THE BUCK

Under attack for the housing crisis that grips all the large industrial areas in Ontario, Drew passed the buck to the Dominion government: "The power and responsibility in this regard rests with the Dominion and not the Provincial government." Challenged to divulge the rate of the long promised minimum wage for men, he remained silent. One of his ministers has already hinted strong opposition to demands for two weeks holidays with pay. The one week's holiday legislation has yet to be extended to the bulk of

(Continued on page 6)

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**BOOK REVIEW**

03-15-3

# *Manifesto to the Workers and Peasants of India*

**Manifesto of the Fourth International to the Workers and Peasants of India—Pioneer Publishers, 32 pages paper, 10 cents**

The Manifesto of the Fourth International to the Workers and Peasants of India is of particular interest at this time in view of the struggles now being carried on by the Indian Masses for their freedom from the imperialist suppression and exploitation.

Though published in 1942, the analyses of India's problems in relation to the international scene remain as valid today as then.

Warning of the fallacy of depending on the so-called "friends of India" to aid in securing independence for India, the Manifesto states that, "Events have demonstrated irrefutably that British imperialism will never agree to the national independence of India. If Britain grants the "demand" of so-called "friends of India" for renewal of negotiations between the All-India Congress and the British government, it will produce nothing more than did the gigantic fraud of the Cripps Mission. The brutal statement of Churchill in the House of Commons on September 10th (that he did not become the King's first Minister in order to preside at the dissolution of the British Empire) should have made it clear to everyone that his policy remains what it was in January 1930, when he said to Parliament: "Sooner or later you will have to crush Gandhi and the Indian Congress and all they stand for".

That the policy of Attlee's "Labor Imperialist" government differs in no wise from that of Churchill is amply demonstrated by their statements and actions against the recent demonstrations for freedom in India.

### REASON BRITISH CAPITALISTS FIGHT INDEPENDENCE

The reason for the determination of the British capitalists, and their Labor lieutenants, to retain their stranglehold on India is explained in the following paragraphs.

"British imperialism could not exist, once India was lost to it forever. 'If we lose India, the Empire must collapse—first economically, then politically', Lord Rothermere wrote in his newspaper on May 16, 1930. During the debate on the 1935 constitution, Churchill made a trans-Atlantic radio address to explain to America 'Why England cannot afford to give up India' because 'two out of every ten Englishmen depend on India'. The myth that British imperialism has been relaxing its exploitation of India is disproved by the simplest facts. In 1911, British investments in India constituted eleven per cent of its overseas holdings; by 1937 its Indian holdings had grown to twenty-five per cent of British

overseas investments. Moreover, in addition to the huge profits from these 'investments' (booty squeezed out of India and then 'invested' there), much of the funds flowing annually to London from India come from direct political control (payments for British troops, Indian government orders for supplies, Viceroy—guaranteed bond payments, civil service salaries and pensions, etc.) Both types of loot would be ended by national independence, for whatever pledges for continuing to pay the British might be made by a bourgeois nationalist government, the overwhelming needs of the impoverished masses of India would soon put a stop to such blackmail payments.

"How Britain drains India is indicated by the fact that the 'public debt' of India has increased about 10 per cent every year during the last 80 years, while the national income, on the other hand, has grown only at the rate of one per cent per year. This pillage of India is the backbone of British imperialism. Without it British capitalism would be doomed—. Under no conditions will the British ruling class voluntarily agree to relax its stranglehold on India, for no ruling class ever agrees to give up its basis of existence".

Of the possibilities of India obtaining freedom through American mediation, the manifesto goes on to say: "Illusions about American imperialism can be just as dangerous as those about British imperialism. Yet the All-India Congress leaders for many years have looked to Washington for support. They either misunderstood or ignored the fact that American imperialism wished to end British political control of India only in order to replace it by the equally imperialist penetration of dollar-imperialism."

The occasional criticism of Britain's repressive policy in India—criticisms designed to disassociate the United States from British acts of terror against the Indian masses—are completely overshadowed by American opposition to India's struggle for independence.

The treacherous role of Stalinism is exposed in a section which points out that the Stalinist press in England, America and elsewhere condemned the struggle for independence during the war, on the ground that it interfered with the war effort of the United Nations.

The true friends of Indian Independence are not to be found in British or American government circles, nor among the "liberal" capitalists, but in the international working class.

The Indian masses are warned to beware equally the leadership of the Indian "Nationalist capitalists" personified in the Congress, who wish freedom from Britain in order to exploit the workers and peasants for their own gain.

"Workers and peasants of India! Beware of those on whom the British yoke sits gently! Those who toil like beasts of burden and who hunger—they are the only ones who can be trusted to throw off the foreign yoke. But those who live in great mansions which rival in splendor the palaces of the British capitalists, who pay 1,000 rupees for a seat at Congress meetings—they do not find the British yoke very galling! Their quarrel with the British is a dispute between partners concerning the division of the spoils; a Birla, a Rajah, want the right to exploit the Indian workers and peasants without sharing so generously with the British as they now must."

### ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE FOR INDIA

"If the masses of India were to limit their struggle within the confines of "deadlock" and non-violence, they could strive for a thousand years and still not win their freedom! Fortunately, even from afar we see that the masses are striving to go beyond the boundaries which the Congress leadership has attempted to impose. Neither the workers' strikes nor the peasant struggles are being waged in the conservative spirit of the Congress leaders."

As Trotsky wrote in 1939 to the workers of India, "The alliance of workers and poor peasants is the only honest, reliable alliance that can assure the final victory of the Indian revolution." Committees must be elected by the workers in every factory and workplace to act on their behalf in all matters where their interest are endangered. Only if the workers are led by their own committees can they protect themselves against British imperialism and against the treachery of many Congress officials who are certain to capitulate to the British Raj. Such committees among the workers in the cities will inspire the creation of village committees elected by the peasants to lead their struggles. A network of these workers and peasants committees is the only sure way to mobilize the great masses for the struggle for national liberation from the yoke of oppression.

The Manifesto concludes by pointing to the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India as the only Party qualified to lead the Indian masses in their revolutionary struggle against both the imperialist oppressors and the native capitalists, who must also be swept aside, in order to realize the aspirations of the workers and peasants for freedom.

Reviewed by  
**D. Whiteside.**

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

# BOR CHALLENGE

TORONTO, ONTARIO, MID-APRIL, 1946

Vol. 2 No. 6

9

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## RE FOR STRIKE ACTION

### CK MARKET REPORT - 1946



## Gov't Raises Prices Keeps Lid On Wages

By ROSS DOWSON

With one hand Mackenzie King tightened the clamp on the wage ceiling and pushed aside the demands of the Canadian trade union movement for the forty-hour week, substantial wage increases and improved social services. With the other hand the King government pushed aside the price controls and granted the steel magnates \$14,000,000 a year by increasing ingot prices. The food trust were given a four-cent increase in the price of butter and one to four cents on pork. Other sections of Canadian big business got their share with increases in furniture prices, bedding, and shirts, etc.

### MASSES IN JAPAN SEIZE FACTORIES IN STORMY WAVE

04-15<sup>th</sup> - 1a

The Canadian working class replied with preparations to enforce their demands by militant strike action. The CCI Wage Co-ordinating Committee instructed all affiliated and local unions to immediately establish emergency funds to prepare for the struggles that lie ahead.

**King Attacks Labor Demands**  
The presentation of this year's CCL brief roused a violent and hostile flare-up from King and his cabinet. It was the most militant brief ever presented by the CCL. This time it was not the usual cap-in-hand affair but a series of militant demands which included the establishment of a national labor code, abolition of wage controls, re-establishment of price controls, increases in income tax exemptions to \$2,000 for married and \$1,500 for single persons, and maintenance of subsidies on agricultural products.

The CCL brief, more militant and more critical of the King government and its post-war promises, met the sharpest rebuff from King and his cabinet. But the modest TLC brief also received a hostile hearing.

Presented a few days previously, on April 4, and voicing many of the same demands as the CCL, its conciliatory at-

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# UNIONS PREPARE FOR STRIKE ACTION TO WIN DEMANDS

04-15-16

empt to justify limited wage controls was to no avail.

The reception given both the TLC and CCL briefs by the King government was a glaring exposure of the inability of labor briefs and labor lobbies to gain concessions from the war profit bloated and market hungry Canadian bosses. This was a further verification of a fact which was already obvious after the failure of lobbies to make any headway with the Conservative Drew government in Ontario and the Liberal Hart government in British Columbia. The Steelworkers' latest attempt to pressure the government to try, as Cotterill, secretary of the Toronto Labor Council, states: "every possible method of avoiding a crippling strike in the steel industry," will likewise meet with complete failure. Words and threats of action are falling on deaf ears. This fight will be settled only by militant working class action.

Behind King, the first ditch defender of the great swollen profits of Canadian capitalism have lined up the powerful Canadian bosses and their Am-

(Continued on Page 3)

**VANCOUVER, B.C.** — R. K. Gervin, Secretary of the Vancouver-New Westminster Trades and Labor Council (AFL), leader of AFL-CCL Labor Lobby, has finally paid-off his good friend Pritchett, president of District 1, IWA. Gervin appeared in person at the Sitka Spruce Mill on March 28, along with Bill Page and Jack Stevenson of the AFL Carpenters. Speaking officially for the AFL, Gervin promised full support to the Carpenter chartered Company Union in its fight against the IWA.

Gervin was elected to the Vancouver City Council, last December, through the support of AFL and CCL central councils, the LPP and the reactionary "Non-Partisan League". Actively supporting him were Pritchett, IWA; Harvey Murphy, IUM MSW; Dan O'Brien, Regional Director CCL, all well-known Stalinist stooges.

(Continued from Page 1) erican allies. The Canadian mining barons have answered the demand of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers for a general 29-cent an hour wage increase with the threat of a long and bitter fight. Sixty-seven mining corporations refused to attend a meeting called by the union to discuss wage stabilization. Reinforced with their war profits and the profits accruing from the recent releasing of the price ceiling they boast "that the mining industry as a whole will be in as good a position if not better position than the union to fight a widespread strike if the union forces the issue." (Fin. Post, March 23.)

**Only Militant Action Can Win**  
With all the forces of the state at their disposal the bosses are preparing for a powerful counter-attack on labor. Labor's demands will be gained only by a militant and fearless struggle against Big Business.

The lifting of the price ceiling and the maintenance of the wage freeze has caught the workers in the jaws of a mighty squeeze and thrust them on the road to action. The government cost of living index is a monstrous fraud. Government statistics claim that the cost of living has risen only 18.9 per cent. since 1939, while an independent survey by the Home-makers' Association estimates food prices went up 50 per cent. Recent government legislation has sent it soaring even higher.

The Canadian workers have been inspired by the recent heroic struggles of their Am-

erican comrades against the most powerful corporations on the face of the earth. Their winning of the greatest single wage increases in labor history and their great demonstration of power have been an inspiring example to Canadian labor.

**Preparations for Action**  
The organized working class from coast to coast is rousing itself for a mighty struggle. The CCL has announced that there will be at least 200,000 members involved in wage issues in the strike struggle.

The Algoma steelworkers are seeking extensive wage increases and threaten to ignore the War Labor Boards. They have been joined by the Textile Workers and the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers who has advised its locals to ignore wage controls in pressing their negotiations for higher pay.

The workers at Dominion Textiles have just voted strike action, and it appears that they will soon be joined by the Canadian Seamen's Union, who are in the midst of negotiations for the 8-hour day. Sidney, Nova Scotia, miners are waiting for the final word on their application to the National War Labor Board on their appeal of the decision of a local board on their wage demands. On April 8, a regional meeting of the United Steel Workers in Ontario representatives threatened to gain a minimum wage of \$33.60 and reduction in hours of work "by whatever means may be necessary."

Canadian labor prepares to move from words to actions.

05-01-1

# Sask. CCF Shelved 44-Hour Week B.C. Lobby Leaders Sold Out Labor

By ROSS DOWSON

Canadian labor's demand for the 40-hour week with no reduction in take home pay has been sharply rejected by the Liberal and the Progressive-Conservative Parties in the Federal and Provincial governments. Both parties, obedient to their master, Big Business, stand united and determined to maintain conditions and wages at their present low level.

As the workers are preparing to take the struggle from the talking stage to militant strike action a new danger has appeared. This time from entirely different quarters. Both the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation and the Labor-Progressive Party while loudly proclaiming themselves to be the staunchest supporters of the working class have in the past few weeks struck serious blows at the workers as they prepare to fight it out with the bosses.

## SASKATCHEWAN DROPS 44-HOUR WEEK BILL

Early last month the Saskatchewan Federation of Labor (CCL) and the Provincial Executive of the Trades and Labor Congress submitted a brief to the CCF government of Saskatchewan requesting the enactment of a 40-hour week with no reduction in take home pay. This government which claims to be a Farmer-Labor government and on special occasions even Socialist, introduced into the legislature a bill providing not the 40-hour week but a 44-hour week. A few weeks ago the CCF government announced in the Assembly that even the bill for the 44-hour week would not be proceeded with.

The failure of the CCF government to legislate the program of the CCL and TLC constitutes a blow at labor. Passage of such an act, despite the fact that it might not be implemented now because of the Ottawa Wage Control Order, nonetheless, would have been a big step forward in rallying the entire working class for a real struggle to attain its demands. It would also have been a big step in the political education of the Canadian people.

The Stalinist Canadian Tribune grabbed this cowardly CCF be-

trayal of the fight for the 40-hour week in an attempt to raise its own political capital. But the role of the LPP is not one wit less reprehensible. It's a case of the pot calling the kettle black.

For on April 1st the Hart Tory-Liberal coalition government in British Columbia tabled, at the request of CCF leader Harold Winch, information that brands the leaders of last February's B.C. Labor Lobby double dealing betrayers of the Lobby's own demands.

## LPP BETRAYS LABOR LOBBY

The records prove that on last January 3rd nine of these leaders met in secret with prominent officials of the Hart government. The nine included besides Daniel O'Brien, president of the B.C. Federation of Labor (CCL) and Alderman R. K. Gervin, secretary of the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council and chairman of the B.C. executive of the Trades and Labor Congress, the well known Stalinist stooges Harold Pritchett and Harvey Murphy. In secret these "leaders" reached agreements that undermined the program of militant demands drawn up by the Trades and Labor Congress and the Canadian Congress of Labor.

The Labor Lobby more than 300

strong converged on Victoria on Feb. 23rd to argue a brief that it had presented to the Hart government some weeks previously. The brief included the demand for a 40-hour week and 2-weeks vacation with pay.

While Murphy and Pritchett called for support of these demands and Gervin called for a bigger and better delegation to enforce them not a word was heard, not a hint dropped, about the agreements arrived at previously with the Hart government. The Stalinist Pacific Tribune remarked on Feb. 22nd, "Some time ago ministers of the Hart cabinet hinted that the government might consider a 44-hour week, indicating that they were cognizant of labor pressure. The Labor and Vet Lobby will press for the full terms of the program set forth in their brief."

But on January 3rd at a meeting with Labor Minister Pearson these same labor demagogues endorsed a resolution not for a 40-hour week but for a 44-hour week. This motion was moved by Bill Showler and seconded by the B.C. organizer of the International Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers—Stalinist Harvey Murphy. Another motion moved by Gervin, who later became chairman of the Lobby Steering Committee, and seconded by his co-chairman Daniel O'Brien calling for only one week's vacation with pay was also endorsed.

The same day that the government tabled the information of the secret meeting it paid off by introducing along with a number of other labor bills legislation for a 44-hour week and one week's vacation with pay.

# WAR RECORD OF THE 4th INTERNATIONAL WORLD PARTY OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

By WILLIAM BROWN

Many years ago the Communist Manifesto raised the slogan "Workers of the world, unite!" Imperialist war provides the supreme test for all political tendencies in the labor movement which claim to base themselves on this elementary tenet of Marxism. It throws into the ash can of history those that fail to meet the test.

In 1939, philistines who were impressed by numbers and size rather than by program, scoffed at the young and small Fourth International. But the final verdict has been passed by history. The Fourth International lives and grows today; the Second and Third Internationals perished in the war they helped to pave the way for.

The Fourth International lives precisely because it bases itself firmly on the slogan, "Workers of the World, Unite!" It alone kept aloft the banner of internationalism during the war years, even in the darkness of Hitler-occupied Europe.

## THE DEATH OF THE SECOND AND THIRD INTERNATIONALS

The first imperialist war effectively destroyed the powerful Second International when the leaders of its national sections threw overboard the last vestiges of internationalism and rallied to the support of their respective ruling classes. In the second world war, a feeble shadow of its former self and bound hand and foot to Anglo-American imperialism it collapsed completely.

With the betrayal of the Second International in 1914-18, it fell to a small group of revolutionary internationalists to lead the first successful proletarian revolution. The banner of workers' internationalism passed for a time into the hands of the Third International, organised by Lenin and Trotsky. But the degeneration of the workers' state and the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy converted the once revolutionary international into its opposite. Years before the outbreak of the second imperialistic war Stalin had destroyed the last traces of internationalism in the Comintern; war merely carried the process to its logical conclusion and the stinking corpse of the Third International was formally buried in the spring of 1943 by its murderer, Stalin.

## REFORMISM AND STALINISM LED TO WAR

The Second and Third Internationals through their betrayals in Germany, Spain and elsewhere, bore a heavy share of responsibility for the outbreak of war in 1939. Both functioned as agencies of imperialism, one as an instrument of the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, the other as an instrument of the counter-revolutionary



JAMES P. CANNON

National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, who with 17 other comrades was jailed for opposition to Wall Street's war.

regime in the Kremlin. They provided the means of organizing the workers for the slaughter.

Now efforts are being made to combine their functions, for imperialism still has need of them. Harold Laski, the "left" cover for his majesty's imperialist Labor government, calls for a fifth international to be formed by bringing to life and uniting its defunct predecessors. Laski and his kind are attempting to raise the dead only in order to lead the workers once more into the blind alley of reformist-Stalinist politics and to plunge them into the abyss of the new imperialist war brewing in the thieves' kitchen of imperialism, the United Nations Organization. This grotesque caricature of an international will come into the world still-born.

## BIRTH OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The road for the workers lies with the Fourth International, direct heir of the Third, in the days when it was led by Lenin and Trotsky. Its victory is guaranteed by its record in the war. Founded in September of 1938, at the very time when the imperialists were preparing the war at Munich, it faced and passed the test just one year later. Alone of international organizations, it convened a conference in 1940 when Hitler was drowning Europe in blood and issued a call to the workers of all countries to unite in the struggle against imperialism and war.

The young International entered the war, weak in numbers but with cadres in all the major countries.

Facing unparalleled persecution at the hands of fascism, Stalinism and "democratic" imperialism alike these cadres not only held firm, but grew in numbers and experience. The full story of the Fourth International cannot be told in this short space. The list of its martyrs alone would cover pages.

Here, in Canada, a Trotskyist was the first to be thrown into jail for irreconcilable opposition to imperialist war. Under the repressions of the Defence of Canada Regulations, the Canadian Fourth Internationalists continued the struggle through their illegal, mimeographed paper, *Socialist Action*. In the United States, James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, and seventeen others were sentenced to prison on the very day that U.S. imperialism entered the war. In England, four leaders of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British section of the Fourth International were jailed in 1942 under the Trades Disputes Act.

Even in Europe under the Nazi terror the struggle continued. *La Vérité* (Truth) organ of the French Trotskyists, was the first underground paper to appear in France during the occupation. In October of 1943, sixty-five Trotskyists were arrested, deported and murdered by the Gestapo. Of these, thirty were German soldiers engaged in editing and circulating *Arbeiter und Soldat* (Worker and Soldier) among the occupation troops.

In Belgium, fifty issues of *La Voie de Lénine* (Lenin's Road) appeared illegally. Twenty leading comrades fell into the hands of the fascists. Many died in the unspeakable concentration camps, including Leon Lesoil, leader of the party and a founding member of the Belgian Communist Party who was arrested on June 22, 1941.

The heaviest blows were reserved for the Greek section. Many died at the hands of the Germans. More than one hundred were murdered by the Stalinists in the civil war in the fall of 1944. Yet the Greek Party still continues to issue two weekly papers and a theoretical monthly.

## EUROPEAN CONFERENCE—1944

In the very midst of the war the Fourth International in Europe registered gains. In some countries such as Italy, parties were founded where none had existed before. In England, France and elsewhere fusions took place between various groups. These gains were consolidated in a six-day conference that took place in February of 1944 in Paris under the noses of the Gestapo. Delegates from France, Germany, Spain, Belgium and Greece set up a European Executive Committee and a European Secretariat. The Secretariat issued a theoretical organ, *Quatrième Internationale* and called for solidarity with the German workers and for support of the colonial struggles.

"Liberation" of Europe by Anglo-American imperialism did not mean the end of persecution. Only recently and under mass pressure did the French government recognize *La Vérité* as a legal paper.

A few weeks ago a public meeting was raided by the police of the "socialist" premier Gouin and thirty comrades were arrested. In Belgium, *La Voie de Lénine* was suppressed in April of 1945 for calling for fraternization with the German workers. The Anglo-American imperialist, no less than their German counterparts, recognize the Trotskyists as their most intransigent enemies. Yet in spite of this, each new election in Europe marks gains for the Fourth International.

## FOURTH INTERNATIONAL AND COLONIAL PEOPLES

In the semi-colonial countries of South America and in the colonies of Asia the Trotskyists likewise stand in the forefront of the workers' struggles. In Indo-China they participate in the Viet-Minh which is leading the fight of the Indo-Chinese masses against French imperialism. In India where the leaders have been arrested a number of times by the British, the Trotskyists have organized the United Bolshevik-Leninist party of India, Ceylon and Burma, in preparation for the great struggle facing the Indian people.

## "BANNER OF VICTORY"

On May Day of 1946 the Fourth International can look back with pride on its record and look forward with confidence to the future. It has the program that can lead the workers of the world to the final overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a world federation of socialist states. Under the conditions of war it has proved its right to the title, "World Party of the Socialist Revolution."

On May Day the Fourth International pauses to honour its long list of martyrs. At the head of them stands the greatest, Leon Trotsky, who was murdered in 1940 by Stalin's GPU. It honours them by acting on Trotsky's last words, "Go Forward!"



DEMOSTHENES VOURSOUKES  
Member of the Central Committee of the Greek Trotskyist Party.  
Murdered by the Stalinists in the ELAS for his anti-war activity.

05-01-2

# CAMPAIGN FOR 1,000 NEW SUBS UNDER WAY

## TORONTO PASSES 10 PER CENT OF ITS QUOTA

By DAVID WILLIAMS

(Campaign Manager)

The campaign for 1,000 new subscribers to Labor Challenge which was announced in the last issue of our paper is slowly getting under way.

Our goal is 1,000 new Labor Challenge readers before July 15, 1946. In order to make it as easy as possible to introduce our paper to new workers we are making a special offer of: A six Month Subscription (12 issues) for only 25 cents.

This offer will definitely expire on July 15.

We are confident that our loyal supporters throughout the country will put the campaign over the top. Undoubtedly the valuable experience gained by our sub-getters and friends in our two highly successful previous campaigns will serve them in good stead to make this our biggest and best campaign ever.

The burning necessity of putting Labor Challenge into the hands of an ever broadening circle of workers must be apparent. This fact has been brought home to us in the sharpest manner in recent weeks with the opening up of Big Busi-

ness's propaganda offensive against labor.

Labor Challenge throws the spotlight of Marxist analysis on national and international events. Fearless champion of the workers it is an indispensable weapon in their hands for victory in the struggles ahead.

Only Labor Challenge brings the truth about labor's struggle for socialism to the working people of Canada. This has been our proud boast, it will continue to be our aim in the future.

But now in order to make this truth effective the circulation of Labor Challenge must be increased. This is an easily realizable objective as proven by the experience of a small group of sub-getters in Toronto.

On Saturday, April 20, a group of 4 workers canvassed a working class neighborhood in Toronto's west end. In an hour and a half of knocking on doors and talking Labor Challenge they sold 11 subscriptions to workers. After this heartening and very successful first experience they determined to repeat this performance with great-

er forces at least once a week throughout the campaign.

One of this group of canvassers reported that he got one of his new subs without any sales talk at all. When he knocked on the door and mentioned Labor Challenge, he was told by the worker who answered that he had been waiting for someone to call and pick up his sub. He had read the last copy of the paper which had been distributed door to door on that street.

On the first day of the campaign another Toronto comrade picked up five new subs in his shop.

The total new subs so far for the Toronto group, who have accepted a quota of 400, stands at 42 or just a little over ten per cent of their goal. Delay in receiving answers to the proposed quotas for some outside points has prevented us from publishing a scoreboard showing the national and group standing in this issue. But it will be ready for our next number.

We also intend to show the scores of our leading individual sub-getters. To give encouragement to them and to start a little socialist competition we are offering a copy of Trotsky's posthumous biography "Stalin, an appraisal of the man and his influence." So far a Toronto comrade is in the lead for this prize with 8 subscriptions. But this headstart can be easily overcome by anyone who is willing to devote a little effort to the necessary job of winning readers for Labor Challenge.

So let's go all you sub-getters! Over 1,000 new readers by July 15!

To our readers who would like to participate in the campaign and the competition for the valuable prize to the highest scorer, special sub cards may be had by writing:

Labor Challenge,  
87 King St. W., Room 5,  
Toronto 1, Ontario.

This Coupon and 25 Cents Entitles You to a  
6-Month Subscription to

## LABOR CHALLENGE

87 KING ST. W., ROOM 5, TORONTO 1, ONT.

A twice-monthly paper bringing the truth about labor's struggle for socialism to the working people of Canada.

You may start my subscription to Labor Challenge with your INTRODUCTORY OFFER of 12 issues for 25 cents.

I enclose 25c (coin or stamps).

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05/01/73

Marxist-Leninist  
Principles and  
the Policy of L.P.P.

By ROSS DOWSON

Worker militants in the Labor Progressive Party have viewed party policies of the past four or five years with many misgivings and doubts. The LPP sponsored the no-strike pledge, labor management committees, and the drive for coalition with the boss Liberal Party. The LPP line left the workers aspive victims of the war aims of Canadian capitalism. This policy created confusion and consternation in the ranks.

Today these workers are hopefully looking for a left turn away from class collaboration. There have been undercurrents of such a turn. Pseudo-Marxist educational material has reappeared in the pages of the Canadian and Pacific Tribune. Programmatic statements once more proclaim the LPP's adherence to the principles of Marx and Lenin. But for all the hoot and holler about Marxist principles there has been no sign that the LPP has any intention of approaching revolutionary principles. There is no sign that it has rejected in any form its support of the imperialist war, the imperialist peace and its class collaborationist policies.

With the expulsion of Earl Browder for "revisionism and liquidationism" the American Stalinists announced the reconstitution of the party on Marxist-Leninist foundations. The Canadian party leaders were quick to mimic their American counterparts. The B.C. educational director, Minerva Cooper, who a few months ago pedaled throughout LPP ranks what is now known as Browderism today denounces Browder. What Browderism is and in what sense it differs from the official policies of the LPP as announced by Tim Buck or Stanley Ryerson no one will ever know. The LPP leadership's approval of

the expulsion of Browder and their cautious attack against Browderism is part of an attempt to fool the gullible that there has been a change in party line.

Browder has become the whipping post for all the criminal betrayals perpetrated by the Stalinist party leaders. This pseudo rejection of Browderism and the party claims to have returned to a Marxist-Leninist policy are only a smoke screen to hide the continuation of their policies of betrayal.

OLD LINE CONTINUES

The Draft Resolution for the LPP National Convention that is to be held this coming June reveals that there has been no fundamental change in any aspect of party program. The LPP remains a party of class collaboration, a party of betrayal of the fundamental interests of the Canadian workers.

World War II devastated the European continent, killed and maimed millions of the youth and helpless civilians, condemned millions more of the Colonial and European peoples to starvation and amassed huge accumulations of wealth for the victorious bourgeoisie. Far from attaining the "four freedoms" or other promises by means of which the capitalist class and the LPP urged the Canadian workers to war, the world is on the

precipice of another and still more devastating war. Nowhere is there peace, freedom or security. The (Continued on Page 2)

# LABOR CHALLENGE

## 37,000 West Coast Lumberworkers Strike Leading Canadian Labor in Wage Struggle

SMASH IT OPEN!



STRIKE ACTION WILL WIN LABOR'S DEMANDS

Millard Compromises;  
Strikes Postponed  
By Unions in East

By D. WHITESIDE

TORONTO, May 13.—Last week on May 6, C. H. Millard, director of the United Steelworkers of America, CIO-OOL, offered to modify the modest demands of the steelworkers for a 40-hour week, and a 10½ cent an hour increase in pay, after his first conference with the management of the Steel Company of Canada, in Hamilton.

In a statement to the press, Millard said: "We indicated to the company that the union was prepared to consider some variation of the combination proposal of a progressive reduction in hours over a period of time, without reduction in pay, and if the company was willing to consider such a proposal the union was prepared to scale down its hourly wage demands accordingly."

REVISES DEMANDS.  
FROM 40 TO 44

Millard explained what this meant by stating, "We are prepared to take the \$22.60 equivalent in hourly rates for a 44-hour standard week, providing there is going to be a further reduction of hours without reduction in pay within the lifetime of the new contract."

Millard made this drastic downward revision of the steelworkers' demands while the membership were voting in plant after plant for strike action. He offered this concession to Stelco before negotiations had begun with Algoma or Denco, the other two basic steel producers in Canada.

This is the first open offer by a union leader to settle for less than

Loggers Ranks Solid  
Behind Union Demands

BULLETIN

When the owners refused to accept the compromise offer of the IWA leaders to accept an 18 cent an hour increase or arbitrate the dispute, 37,000 loggers walked out completely tying up the lumber industry on the coast at 11 a.m. May 15. An unconfirmed report from B.C. states the Consolidated Mining and Smelting trust has signed with the IUMMSW giving 6,000 miners a 21 cent per hour increase and a 40-hour week...

VANCOUVER, May 16.—The International Woodworkers of America, CIO-OOL, became the first major union in Canada to set a strike deadline in the fight for the 40-hour week and a 25 cent an hour increase in pay. Three days ago IWA District Council No. 1 announced that they would call out 37,000 lumberworkers, Wednesday, May 15, at 11 a.m., unless the employers consider a satisfactory settlement to the union's just demands on or before the deadline."

So far the IWA has stood pat on its demands. The boss loggers, through their mouthpiece, Stuart Research Ltd., have dickered and stalled along with four separate proposals each of which came nowhere near meeting the demands of the loggers.

The overwhelming majority of the rank and file of the unions are solid behind their demands and ready to fight. Response to the drive to build a "war chest" has been almost 200 per cent. Organization to cope with any struggle which might develop has reached a

05-15<sup>th</sup>-1a



05-15-16

# THE LPP's PSEUDO-MARXIST-LENINIST LINE

(Continued from Page 1)

political party and the leaders of that party which lead the Canadian working class into the Second Imperialist war stands before the judgment of history guilty of a monstrous crime against the workers. Buck, Ryerson and Company have been proven in less than one year after the close of the war to be politically bankrupt, criminal misleaders of the working class, and agents of world imperialism. Far from confessing political bankruptcy, Tim Buck proudly boasted, early in March, of LPP loyalty to Canadian capitalism:

"It was the Communists (read Stalinists) who won the labor movement for labor-management co-operation during the war, who first proposed the no-strike pledge. It was the Communists (Stalinists) who lead the struggle to unite all sections in support of conscription."

The National Convention Resolution far from repudiating past policies, expelling or even removing the leaders of this policy brazenly continues to call the war "a people's war", a "war of liberation." Since the Allied imperialists have been successful in crushing the Axis war machine the resolution assures us that, "In common with all freedom-loving peoples we Canadians have thereby gained the opportunity to secure the benefits of lasting peace."

## WARS ARE INEVITABLE UNDER CAPITALISM

Lenin told the workers that: "Under capitalism, particularly in the imperialist stage, wars are inevitable."

Under capitalism wars are inevitable for the cause of war lies in the process of capitalist production and expropriation. The LPP lies that the immediate cause, which they confess is being resumed today in spite of the sweeping victory of the United Nations, was "conspiracy and intrigue calculated to align all reactionary forces against the people's governments of Europe, the colonial liberation movements and the Soviet Union".

World War I was a product of capitalism. World War II was inevitable as is World War III unless the working class destroy capitalism. Diplomatic intrigue and conspiracy are but the by-products of the crisis of world capitalism. Neither Fascism or the military character of this or that race were the cause of World War II. The mad preparations for the Third Imperialist War speed on, even though the German and Japanese peoples lie crushed by the occupational forces of the victorious allies and the military machine of the Axis powers is destroyed. Fascism is but another form of capitalism, true, its most ruthless and bestial form, but nonetheless a product of capitalist crisis. Fascism and the preparations for the Third imperialist war must serve as a grave warning to the international working class of what lies ahead falling the suc-



TIM BUCK

Leader of the LPP, trades in on his past anti-capitalist record to berate the workers with the policy of coalition with "good bosses".

cessful socialist revolution.

Lenin warned the workers of the world during World War I that: "The war was not born out of the ill-will of capitalist robbers, although it undoubtedly is fought solely in their interests and they alone get rich from it. The war was born out of a half a century of development of international capital, its billions of threads and connections. One cannot jump out of an imperialist war, one cannot attain a democratic, unoppressive peace without overthrowing the power of capital, without the state power passing to a different class—the proletariat. (The Tasks of the Proletariat in our Revolution, 1917).

## THE ROBBER PEACE AND UNO

The peace that follows an imperialist war that fails to end in successful social revolution is likewise an imperialist peace dictated by the victorious capitalist class. The Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam agreements far from setting forth as the LPP claims, "the indispensable conditions for the democratic reconstruction of the world," sow the seeds for future and more devastating wars.

The resolution states: "The United Nations alliance as the sole means of defeating fascism embodies and expresses the democratic will of the peoples for peace and is the sole means of maintaining it." Let Buck inform us who expresses the democratic will of the Italian, German, and Japanese workers at UNO and for that matter the workers of any other section of the globe. The character of UNO does not change with the participation of the representatives of the Stalinist bureaucracy any more than the War Labor Board or the capitalist state changes with

the participation of trade union bureaucrats or renegades from Marxism. UNO is but the revitalized corpse of the League of Nations which Lenin called "thieves kitchen". Far from maintaining the peace UNO is a stage in the preparations for the next imperialist war, an instrument of Anglo-American imperialism.

The LPP warns that there are now at large criminal forces seeking to wreck the peace and that "only a mighty people's movement embracing all men and women of good will of all classes and parties . . . can compel the adoption of policies which make for peace."

Lenin said: "A propaganda of peace at the present time if not accompanied by a call to revolutionary mass actions is only capable of spreading illusions and demoralizing the proletariat by imbuing it with confidence in the humanitarianism of the bourgeoisie and of making it a plaything in the hands of secret diplomacy of the belligerent countries." (Imperialism).

## COALITION WITH CAPITALIST PARTIES

The People's Coalition as in the war and pre-war years remains the keystone of LPP national and international policy. It was the people's coalition which under the name of People's Front tied the workers to the capitalist state, disarmed them in Spain, France and throughout the world, and paved the way for the Third Imperialist War. The LPP repeats, "Only a people's movement embracing all men and women of good will of all classes and parties . . . Only a people's coalition can lead Canada forward, etc., etc., ad nauseam.

Almost 100 years ago Marx, to

whom the LPP pays so much lip service, advised the workers: "Even in constituencies where there is no prospects of our candidates being elected, the workers must nevertheless put up candidates in order to maintain their independence, to steel their forces and to bring the revolutionary attitude and party views before the public. They must not allow themselves to be diverted from this work by the stock argument that to split the votes of the democrats assists the reactionary parties. All such talk is calculated to cheat the proletariat. The advance which the proletarian party will make through its independent political attitude is infinitely more important than the disadvantage of having a few more reactionaries in the national assembly. (Address to the Communist League, 1850).

Since Marx wrote the above, history records the innumerable defeats that lie at the door of coalition. Already we can draw a balance sheet of the "victorious" coalition policy advocated by the LPP last year in the Canadian Federal and Provincial elections. Last year the Stalinist Tribune called for a coalition of all progressive forces to defeat the Tories and thus "solve the problems of peace and go forward to greater expansion of our economy and higher standards of life." This coalition was to guarantee a million more jobs than in 1939.

In its last June issue Labor Challenge predicted that the coalition would achieve none of the LPP promises but would lead the workers to further defeats. The coalition was victorious. The King government was swept into power with the aid of these labor fakers with an overwhelming majority. What are its fruits? Over 300,000 walk the streets in Canada. The real cost of living skyrockets as King pays off with the removal of the price ceiling and continues the wage freeze. Even the LPP is compelled to bemoan the actions of their late comrade Mr. King who is in the vanguard of the anti-soviet forces. What is now required according to these cynical politicians is a stronger labor representation to save King from Big Business pressure.

## WHY THE LPP INVOKES MARX AND LENIN

Since the LPP's national and international policy is such an obvious betrayal of the most elementary principles of Marxism why we must ask does it attempt to mask it in Marxist terminology, and put up the pretence of being the Marxist-Leninist party? Lenin himself will supply the answer for he too had to defend Marxism from revisionists and falsifiers.

"After their (revolutionaries) death, however, attempts are usually made to turn them into harmless saints canonizing them, as it were, and investing their name with a certain halo by way of "consolation" to the oppressed classes, and with the object of duping them, while at the same time emasculating and vulgarizing the real essence of their revolutionary theories and blunting their revolutionary edge." (State and Revolution.)

Far from being a Marxist-Leninist party the Stalinist LPP is the most violent opponent of their principles. It adopts the mask of Leninism only in order to destroy its revolutionary significance.

The present policies of the LPP must not however be considered fixed in any way. The political program of the LPP is not based on the objective conditions confronting the Canadian workers but is based on the clique interests of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The rumors and threats of a left

This Coupon and 25 Cents Entitles You to a 6-Month Subscription to

## LABOR CHALLENGE

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A twice-monthly paper bringing the truth about labor's struggle for socialism to the working people of Canada.

You may start my subscription to Labor Challenge with your INTRODUCTORY OFFER of 12 issues for 25 cents.

I enclose 25c (coin or stamps).

NAME .....

STREET .....

CITY..... ZONE..... PROV.....

## INVALUABLE STUDY

Nevertheless, a reader who remains on guard against these flagrant and malicious falsifications in the present edition will find "Stalin" an invaluable study. It is an analysis of the rise to power of the head of the totalitarian Kremlin bureaucracy, written by the man who explained from the beginning to the workers of the world what Stalinism really is.

In our next issue, June 1, we will review Stalin. By Leon Trotsky. Readers of Labor Challenge are invited to place orders for this book with Labor Challenge Book Service, 87 King St. W., Room 6, Toronto 1, Ontario.

# FOURTH INTERNATIONALISTS HOLD WORLD CONFERENCE

05-15-2

*Special to Labor Challenge*

BRUSSELS, April 22.—An International Conference of the Fourth International took place early in April in Belgium with representatives from the English, French, German, Belgian, Irish, Dutch, Swiss, Spanish, and Palestine sections, and from several countries of the Western Hemisphere and the colonies.

This Conference is the fourth since the foundation of the Fourth International in September 1938 and the first since the end of the hostilities.

The Conference met for three days and discussed: (a) the report on the activities of the European Secretariat of the Fourth International, and (b) a political report on the international situation and the tasks of the Fourth International.

The Conference elected a new International Executive Committee and a new International Secretariat, and addressed to the workers, the exploited and colonial peoples of the entire world, a long programmatic manifesto. In this Manifesto the Conference draws the balance sheet of the second imperialist war and demonstrates that the capitalist world, which has resolved none of its fundamental

\*perialism — on the road toward the third world war. The Conference affirms that only the development of the socialist movement of the world proletariat can prevent this outcome which, in view of the extraordinary destructive force of the new weapons utilizing atomic energy, can be fatal for the future of humanity.

The Manifesto of the Conference ends by calling on the exploited masses of Europe and the world to fight under the banner of the Fourth International to achieve the economic unification of the world through the Socialist United States of Europe and of the world.

Several leaders of the Fourth International were present at this Conference, among them Comrade J. Haston, secretary of the English section, Comrades Pierre Frank, Bleibtreu, Demaziere and Beaufre, leading members of the French section, etc.

The Conference sent revolutionary greetings to the Trotskyist fighters of Indo-China, Indonesia, India, Spain, the United States, as well as to the exploited masses of these countries who are fighting for their national and social liberation.

## SPECIAL EDITION NEXT ISSUE

FEATURING

### MANIFESTO Of The Recent WORLD CONFERENCE Of The FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The June issue of Labor Challenge will bring to the workers the full text of this historic statement of the Fourth International

contradictions through the war, is again moving—through a period of great economic and political difficulties, dominated by the fundamental antagonism of the USSR and Anglo-American im-

# SEAMEN IN HEROIC FIGHT FOR 8-HR. DAY

## B.C. Lumberworkers Head Wage Struggle

Special to LABOR CHALLENGE

VANCOUVER, May 28.—The strike of 37,000 lumberworkers, members of the International Woodworkers of America CIO-CCL, which entered its 14th day here, has developed into the most important strike in the history of British Columbia. The ranks of the loggers, sawmill and plywood workers, and shingle weavers, are solid behind their demands for the 40-hour week and a 25-cent per hour increase in pay.

While the big operators, represented by Stuart Research Ltd., are still holding out against the unions' demands, the small companies are beginning to knuckle under. Some 2,000 woodworkers have returned to work for operators who have signed with the IWA and are paying the new rates for a 40-hour week.

The lumberworkers fired the opening gun in the struggle for shorter hours and increased pay in Canada when they walked out sharp at 12 a.m. on May 15. The strike came under immediate fire from the Liberal-Conservative Coalition government when the B.C. Minister of Labor, G. Pearson, declared the strike "illegal."

Ceaseless picketing, which has shut down the industry completely in this area, is being ably directed by the rank and file committees under the leadership of Albury and Eddie in New Westminster and Whalen in Vancouver. Stewart

### 50,000 Strike For Pay Raises And 40-Hr. Week

Approximately 50,000 Canadian workers are battling on the picket lines against the combined opposition of the bosses and their governments for shorter hours and pay increases. While the centre of the stage is occupied by the mass struggle of the west coast woodworkers and the dramatic fight of the sailors, metal workers in Vancouver, brass workers in New Toronto, textile workers in Ontario and Nova Scotia are also on strike for similar demands.

Tens of thousands in other industries in rubber, textile, shipyards,

### A Robber Calling the Cops



### Battle Police Owners and Govt.

TORONTO.—As we go to press news of a successful battle by striking seamen, members of the CSU, against scores of company-hired thugs reaches us from Cornwall, scene of some of the dramatic battles of the sailors for the eight-hour day. On Toronto's waterfront, hundreds of police protected the sailing of the CSL ship KINGSTON, 10 pickets were arrested.

J. A. "Pat" Sullivan, president of the CSU, has called on the government to take over the ships. In view of the hostile attitude of the King government to the labor movement and the demands of the seamen, government seizure could only lead to a victory for the shipowners. The militant struggles at Thorold and Cornwall show the way to victory for the sailors.

By ROSS DOWSON

TORONTO, May 31.—Police and pickets battle it out in every port on the Canadian side of the Great Lakes. The seamen's strike against the wealthy shipowners for the eight-hour day has brought crashing down upon them the might of the police, the courts and the government. Over 150 men and union officials have been arrested in Ontario and Quebec ports. But despite shipowner and police attempts to smash their ranks the Canadian Seamen hold firm and have tied up Great Lakes shipping all the way from Montreal to the Lakehead.

Police attempts to break the strike by terrorism and escorting ships through the straits have been

→ see p. 2

06-01-1a

## World Conference of 4th International Marks Progress and Prepares Struggle

Special to LABOR CHALLENGE

The International Conference of the Fourth International which was held in Belgium early last month was the first international gathering of the Trotskyists since the end of World War II. Convoked under difficult and trying conditions, it was nevertheless a genuinely representative conference, with participation\*

from as many sections as at the Founding Conference in 1938, and speaking for a far greater membership and number of sections.

Among the European delegations present were the French, British, Dutch, Belgian, German, Spanish, Irish and Swiss sections; in addition, there were representatives from the Western Hemisphere and the colonial sections.

The task of organizing the Conference had been entrusted to the European Executive Committee by the International Secretariat. The European Executive Committee fulfilled this responsibility and proposed the following aims for the Conference:

a. On the political plane, to define a preliminary general political orientation of the International.

b. On the organizational plane, to elect a new representative leadership of the International which would have the task, among others, of carrying on a discussion in the International on all questions where

take binding decisions on all questions that are on the agenda; and

"2. To dissolve the existing IEC and IS and to elect from this conference a new IEC and IS with full authority to act until the next world congress."

#### ORGANIZATION REPORT

The organizational report of the European Secretariat was one of the high points of the Conference, just as its activities have been one of the high points of the International's history during the war. It was an inspiring indication of the will of the revolutionaries in Europe to carry on their work despite the worst conditions of illegality and repression.

It also stressed the need for a centralized leadership composed of the most capable and energetic members at the disposal of the International so that the leadership could be effective and take advantage of growing opportunities.

In addition to its organizational report, the European Secretariat presented a criticism of its theses of February 1944. After discussion, the Conference adopted the report, with two votes opposed, and characterized the mistakes in the 1944 theses "as errors in estimating tempo, not as errors in fundamental perspectives." The new IEC was instructed "to publish as quickly as possible a document expounding completely and clearly the self-criticism of our past policy."

#### POLITICAL DISCUSSION

The main question on the agenda

of the Conference, and the one which naturally received the greatest attention and debate, was the political discussion. Among the important questions on which differences appeared were the Soviet Union and perspective in Europe. A number of amendments were introduced.

Before voting on the text of the main document, the Conference reaffirmed in a resolution introduced by the Belgian delegate:

"1. The fundamentally revolutionary character of our epoch on a world scale and chiefly in Europe.

"2. The increasingly favorable objective conditions for the building of revolutionary parties of the Fourth International.

"3. The necessity for centering the political work in all the world sections, and especially the European sections, around the Transitional Program."

This resolution was adopted by a vote of 22 in favour, one opposed, one abstention.

#### AMENDED RESOLUTION

The text of the main political report was then adopted, and the IEC was instructed to elaborate it in final form, incorporating all the amendments which were in conformity with its general line. Those amendments not in conformity with this line were to be submitted to the international discussion.

The vote on this motion was 18 in favor, 2 against, 4 abstentions.

The text of the amended resolution will appear in the June issue of the Fourth International.

The IEC was also directed to complete and issue the Manifesto introduced by the ES. This Manifesto is printed in this issue of Labor Challenge.

In addition, the Conference adopted a resolution on the reorganization of the German section and elected a new International Executive Committee.

Page 2

**WHICH IS ALLI GOVT.**

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Police attempts to break the strike by terrorism and escorting scabs through the picket lines have failed. On the contrary the striker's ranks multiply and the number of ships tied up continues to mount. Scabs wilt under the pressure of the militant struggle conducted by the strikers against the police and shipowners for their jobs and for better conditions.

After months of fruitless negotiations with the shipowners and endless palaver through the government labor departments the Canadian Seamen's Union TLC, set June 7 for strike action.

**THE COMPANY PROVOKED THE STRIKE**

But the powerful Canadian Steamship Lines lead the shipowners assault on the union on May 24th by sailing the SS City of Montreal with a scab crew. When the Department of Labor, stooge of Big Business, refused to intercede upon union president Sullivan's appeal, the CSU issued a call for strike against all CSL ships. The next day eight men of the SS Battleford, one of the three CSL ships struck in Montreal, and union representative Marcel Gagne, was arrested by the police on orders from Ottawa. The police followed up with more arrests and the union struck all Great Lakes Shipping.

The arrested seamen, who now  
(Continued on Page 2)

# SEAMEN'S MILITANT STRUGGLE AGAINST OWNERS AND GOVT.

(Continued from Page 1)

number over 150, are charged with infractions of the Canadian Shipping Act, specifically with clauses that have to do with "combining and leaving work" and "inciting to desert". The entire labor movement has raised angry protests against the enforcement of the Act. D. A. Dunlop, president of the Ontario Federation of Labor, stated: "By their very terms (the Act) reduces employees of shipowners to a state of slavery comparable to that existing in the 17th century."

While arrests of union militants continue and a few undermanned ships slip out of port with scab crews, the strike gathers strength. Early in the strike the shipowners set up scab-hiring agencies in Montreal. National Selective Service in Winnipeg has been accused by the union of lending its services to the ship owners for hiring scabs at the Lakehead. But when the scabs come in contact with the union, many desert to swell the ranks of the strikers. Some skippers have anchored off-shore fearing to come into the struck ports. The strike, which started at a slow pace, has now tied up about 80 vessels at various ports.

**LABOR BEHIND SEAMEN**

The seamen's courageous fight has won the support of all Canadian labor. Grain, freight handlers, and the Brotherhood of Pulp and Sulphite workers in Fort William, "have definitely decided not to handle cargo on any ship that has not signed for an eight-hour day," P. Newman, union official announced.

At Cornwall, where the police have clashed with pickets several times, union leaders are discussing plans for a city-wide sympathy strike which would involve 5,000 textile workers and papermakers besides 750 canal men whose actions would stop all navigation on the St. Lawrence. Longshoremen at Thorold have refused to handle the cargoes of strike-bound ships.

In Halifax, the freighter Cheynne, is strikebound, and the extension of the CSU strike would tie up another 20-odd vessels in that port. As police violence continues unabated, union officials threaten to spread the strike to salt water.



The First Five Years of the Communist International—Vol. 1  
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06-01-16

## LEON TROTSKY — FOUNDER OF 4th INTERNATIONAL

Leon Trotsky was the founder and leader of the Fourth International. From the age of 18 until the day when he was assassinated 42 years later by an agent of Stalin's secret service in Mexico City, Trotsky devoted his life to the emancipation of the world working class from capitalist slavery. The founding of the Fourth International was the crowning achievement of a lifetime filled with heroic service to the world working class!

Two years after Lenin and Trotsky, at the head of the Bolshevik Party, led the Russian workers to victory over the capitalists and landlords in the great October 1917 Revolution, they helped create the Third (Communist) International to organize the fight against capitalist rule on a world scale.

### FIRST WORKERS' STATE

In common with all the great Marxist leaders, Trotsky was an international socialist. Socialism, he taught, could be built only upon world economic foundations. He warned that unless the first successful revolution in the Soviet Union was followed by the victory of the working class and the elimination of capitalism in other and more advanced countries, the first workers' state would inevitably be undermined and eventually overthrown either through internal reaction or through imperialist attack.

In opposition to this genuinely socialist program and perspective, Stalin in 1924 brought forward his fatal theory of "socialism in one country," which discarded the program of the international revolutionary struggle of the world working class. This led to a wave of nationalist reaction within the Soviet Union, the betrayal of the revolutionary struggles of the workers in other countries, and the substitution of the Communist International to the narrow interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

For ten years the Left Opposition headed by Trotsky, struggled against the Stalinist machine with the aim of reforming the Communist International and bringing it back to its original Leninist foundations. Even after Trotsky and his co-thinkers were expelled from the Third International in 1928, they continued to struggle for five more years to save the Third International.

But in 1933, when Hitler marched to power through the divided ranks of the German workers, betrayed not only by the Social Democrats but by the conservative nationalist

policies of the Kremlin, Trotsky proclaimed that the Third International had completely perished. He then raised the slogan: "For the Organization of a New Fourth International! For the Organization of New Communist Parties in All Countries!"

After five years of preparation, the First World Conference of the Fourth International was held on September 3, 1938, "somewhere in Switzerland." Thirty delegates from eleven countries attended. Their most important action was the acceptance of a program written by Trotsky. This program was designed to give a clear account of the main motive forces of the present imperialist epoch and to equip the working-class revolutionary parties with a system of transitional demands capable of uniting them in the struggle for power.

### FOUNDING CONFERENCE

"The calling of this Conference is a major achievement," Trotsky wrote in August, 1938. "The irreconcilable revolutionary tendency, subjected to such persecutions as no other political tendency in world history has in all likelihood suffered, has again given proof of its power . . . Surmounting all obstacles it has, under the blows of its almighty enemies, convened its International Conference . . . The very possibility of a successful Conference was first of all assured by the spirit of revolutionary internationalism which imbues all our sections."

Following the Founding Conference, Trotsky devoted the remaining years of his life to preparing the advanced workers for meeting the tasks imposed upon them by the approaching Second World War. After that war broke out Trotsky wrote his last great document, the Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution. It was adopted by the Emergency Conference held in May 1940.

### MARXIST FOUNDATIONS

Enemies of the working class hoped that with Trotsky's assassination, the Fourth International would also die. But the Fourth International had been built strong and deep upon the unshakeable foundations of Marxist principles and program. Trotsky himself never doubted that the Fourth International would not only survive the terrible test of the Second World War, but would emerge from it stronger and more tempered than ever, eventually to become the acknowledged leadership of the revolutionary masses throughout the world.

The recent International Conference of the Fourth International vindicated the confidence that Trotsky expressed on his death bed: "Tell our friends I am sure of the victory of the Fourth International. Go Forward!"

## Great Fighters Participate In FI Conference

Many experienced and devoted revolutionary fighters who have participated actively in the most important struggles of the European workers during the past 20 years, took part in the recent World Conference of the Fourth Internation.

A majority of them had been imprisoned at one time or another for these activities—by either the fascists or the "democratic" imperialists. They were worthy representatives of the hundreds of Trotskyist martyrs of all countries in World War II.

Some of them had played a leading part in the inspiring anti-fascist work among the German troops in France and Belgium long before the invasion of June, 1944—long before the capitalist-dominated "resistance" movements were more than a name and a few top committees. For this work numerous Trotskyists had been arrested by the Gestapo and either executed or sent to the terrible camps for political prisoners. Even in the horror camps, the survivors had continued their revolutionary work among the other prisoners.

### ANTI-FASCIST FIGHTERS

Others of the Conference participants had been soldiers in the Spanish civil war and still bore upon their bodies the wounds that testified to their heroic struggles against fascism.

One of the British delegates was Jock Haston, secretary of the Revolutionary Communist Party, who had been railroaded to prison by the Churchill government for the Trotskyists' anti-war activities and militant defense of the workers' interests in England.

Among the French representatives were M. Favre-Bleibtreu, secretary of the French party and former editor of *La Verite*; Pierre Frank, who was interned in England during the war and even now faces trial on an old charge rising out of his anti-war activity; Albert Demaziere and Marcel Beaumare, both political deportees who played a leading role in the underground struggle against Hitlerism. And the long records of the other delegates were no less honorable.

This Conference of tested revolutionaries represented a real and a great forward step for the Fourth International—and for the toiling masses of the world whose interests it represents. It was a necessary step for it made possible the mobilization of the world revolutionary forces as a single, united, striking force.



## SPOKESMEN FOR INDOCHINESE DESCRIBE FREEDOM STRUGGLE

Special to Labor Challenge

DAPIC May 4 In an interview with a reporter for

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06-01-3

# SPOKESMEN FOR INDOCHINESE DESCRIBE FREEDOM STRUGGLE

Special to *Labor Challenge*

PARIS, May 4.—In an interview with a reporter for *La Verite*, organ of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste, a spokesman of the official Viet Nam delegation here for negotiations with the French government, replied as follows to the question, What has happened to Ta-Tu-Thau?

"There is a rumor that he has been killed. But there has been no confirmation. Possibly he is in Cochinchina (the section of Indochina where heavy fighting between French imperialist troops and native guerrillas is still in progress—Ed.) Revolutionary leaders often disappear, and then reappear just as suddenly."

Ta-Tu-Thau is the founder and outstanding leader of the Indochinese section of the Fourth International and before the war was elected several times to the municipal council at Saigon.

The arrival of the Viet Nam delegation in Paris has aroused a wave of strikes and mass actions among Indochinese workers and soldiers all over France. In resolutions passed at strike meeting and soldier gatherings the purpose of their action is motivated as follows: To greet in the delegation the glorious spirit of Viet Nam resistance and to demand complete independence for all of a united Indochina (the French imperialists want to detach Cochinchina from the Viet Nam as a separate republic following the model of colonial politics in India—Ed.); to protest continued repressive measures against Viet Nam troops in France and their deportation to North Africa; to protest against the ban against Indochinese hoisting their own national colours; to protest against the failure to apply the amnesty law to Viet Nam political prisoners in France and its overseas territories; to demand the

immediate repatriation of all Indochinese; to demand the immediate cessation of hostilities and French military terror in Cochinchina and the immediate withdrawal from there of the expeditionary force of General Leclerc.

In the interview with *La Verite*, which in its May 3 number carries front page campaign articles for Indochinese freedom, the Viet Nam spokesman explained the rise of his government as follows:

#### PEOPLE'S COMMITTEES

"During the Japanese occupation, in most localities people's committees were formed illegally. During the uprising, they expanded and grew, encompassing the whole toiling section of the population. These committees took power and occupied themselves with all matters of local organization as well as with military organization. The government of Viet Nam grew out of these committees."

Asked whether these committees are still in existence after the agreement signed by the Viet Nam with the French colonial administration on March 6, he answered "Yes." The spokesman further confirmed the fact that innumerable atrocities were committed by French troops in the course of the struggle, and stressed particularly the mishandling of Indochinese prisoners of war. However, being very conscious of the diplomatic role of his delegation, he was very guarded in his answers.

06-01574

# Sub Drive Gathers Momentum Passes 35 Per Cent of Goal

By DAVID WILLIAMS

Results of the campaign for 1,000 new subscriptions before July 15 continue to show that Labor Challenge is receiving an enthusiastic reception from workers previously unacquainted with the paper.

In spite of inclement weather which broke up two mobilizations of Toronto sub-getters, Toronto has passed 59 per cent of its quota with a total of 268 new subscriptions. Invading a district known to be not too sympathetic and without benefit of prior distribution, 11 subs were obtained in a short time before a rainstorm intervened. With the coming of warmer weather Toronto activists are confident that they will exceed their quota by a wide margin.

**THREE OVER 50 PER CENT**

With approximately one half the time of 3 months set for the campaign to obtain 1,000 new six-month subs at the special rate of 25 cents elapsed, the total score is 141 subs behind schedule. Only Toronto, Outside Points listed under Miscellaneous, and the Prairies are over the 50 per cent mark. But our scoreboard shows an improvement over last issue with every point making some score.

The present leaders of the campaign cannot afford to relax since the west coast is recovering from a slow start and threatens to challenge their position very shortly. One Vancouver comrade writes, "Had intended to enclose five subs but tomorrow is pay-day and I should be able to pick up five or six more than so I'll ship them tomorrow night."

**VANCOUVER CANVASSING**

Vancouver has started some door to door canvassing and informs us that, "One comrade made a door to door canvass of a wartime housing unit where we had previously made a distribution. She picked up

SCOREBOARD			
	Quota	Subs	Per Cent
Toronto .....	450	268	59
Miscellaneous .....	50	27	54
Prairies .....	25	13	52
Windsor .....	25	4	16
Vancouver .....	300	38	13
Prince Rupert .....	50	5	10
Montreal .....	75	4	6
Total .....	1,000	359	35

PACESETTERS		
Name	Place	Subscriptions
Harold Small .....	Toronto .....	40
H. Allen .....	Toronto .....	29
R. Dowson .....	Toronto .....	28
Jerry Gordon .....	Toronto .....	21
Norma Roberts .....	Toronto .....	21
B. Johnson .....	British Columbia .....	20
Joe Rose .....	Toronto .....	19

six subs out of eighteen calls and has three to call back on to pick up subs. The response was uniformly good, no knocks or criticism, and some nice comments. We intend to send more people to finish this area in the next few days."

Prince Rupert writes that though they are very busy, now the fishing season has opened up, they will make their quota on schedule and hope to surpass it. They have started the ball rolling with five new subs. Montreal is still lagging behind and along with Windsor failed to register any gains since the last issue. Let's go, Montreal and Windsor, you have a lot of territory to work in.

**LEADING PACESETTER  
CHALLENGED**

The pacesetters column is still dominated by the Toronto subget-

ters, only one comrade from the west coast seems to be challenging the leaders for the valuable prize offered to the person who turns in the most new subs. The prize will be a copy of Trotsky's biography of Stalin reviewed in this issue of Labor Challenge. But subs are so easy to get that it is still not too late for anyone to get into the race. Harold Small retains his lead with a total of 40 new subs all obtained by knocking on doors in workers' neighborhoods. However, H. Allen has moved on the leader with a spectacular leap from seventh to second place with 29 subs to his credit. Allen is closely followed by R. Dowson only one behind in third place. A glance at the pacemakers scoreboard shows a very tight race developing with only a small gap separating first and seventh places.

# ONLY VICTORIOUS SOCIAL-REVOLUTION CAN PREVENT THE THIRD WORLD WAR!

## Manifesto of the Fourth International Addressed to the Workers, The Exploited and Oppressed Colonial Peoples of the Entire World

(The following is the full text of the manifesto issued by the historic international conference of the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist Revolution, held early in April in Belgium. See other sections of this issue of Labor Challenge for special articles on the conference and further details of its decisions.)

The first world-wide conference of the Fourth International since the conclusion of the second imperialist war meets at a time when the crisis of society has reached unprecedented depth and breadth.

In the very sight of the smoldering ruin and devastation and blood-letting of the last holocaust, the third world war is being prepared! The empires of Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Japan have been destroyed by the "United Nations." But already the victors are engaged in a furious race among themselves for the possession of the most perfected weapon of destruction, the atomic bomb. What the totalitarian war fought with flying fortresses and super-tanks, buzz-bombs and bazookas, flame-throwers and katinkas has still left standing, faces complete annihilation by this most dreadfully thoroughgoing of all death-dealing inventions. Thus the crisis of humanity has become a life-and-death question in the deepest and most literal sense of the words.

### The Fraud Of The "Four Freedoms"

The second imperialist war was solemnly consecrated by the governments of the "United Nations" and their flunkies at the head of the "socialist" and "communist" parties as well as the trade-union bureaucrats, as a war against fascism and for democracy. It was a war for the "Four Freedoms" in the words of its foremost protagonist, the late leader of American imperialism, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Instead of "Freedom from Fear," mankind faces the threat of atomic self-destruction.

Instead of "Freedom from Want," three-fourths of the world is plagued with starvation and disease.

Instead of "Freedom of Speech," the vast majority of the peoples are forced to obey the dictates of military governments or the puppets of the victors.

Only the spurious "Freedom of Religion" remains, in the hands of the rulers always a pliant tool by means of which to create rancor and strife among the ruled.

That is the true face of the promised freedoms. Meanwhile, under the benevolent eye of the victors, fascism raises its head again under new forms, as in Italy with the "Uomo Qualunque" movement, and elsewhere.

These were the alleged aims of the war, the promises bandished before the masses of the people. They have proved to be a pack of deceitful lies. In the Manifesto of the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International in May 1940, we branded these lies in advance. The Fourth International alone told the truth!

"Contrary to the official fables designed to drug the people," the 1940 Manifesto written by Trotsky said, "the chief cause of war as of all other social evils — unemployment, the high cost of living, fascism, colonial oppression — is the private ownership of the means of production together with the bourgeois state which rests on this foundation."

Like Lenin during the First World War we warned: "But as long as the main productive forces in society are in the hands of the trusts, that is, of tiny capitalist cliques, so long must the struggle for markets, for sources of raw materials, for the rule of the world inevitably take on a more and more destructive character."

These were the real aims. These remain today the motive forces leading to the next war.

If victorious revolutions of the working class do not supplant the rapacious system of private property and establish a planned socialist order of production for use, we repeat with Lenin and Trotsky, imperialist war is sure to follow once more. This time, accompanied by atomic annihilation of the entire industrial areas of whole countries at once.

This manifesto is therefore directed to the workers,

### Smashing The Chains Of World Capitalism



the exploited, the oppressed. The fate of mankind rests in their hands and in their hands alone. It is to them that this conference of the Fourth International, the World Party of the Socialist Revolution, turns with its explanation of the situation we face together and it is them whom we summon to action against the rulers of the world.

### Results Of The First World War

The real aims of the war were the struggle for markets, for sources of raw materials, for hegemony of the world economy. Two sets of capitalist powers faced each other in the conflict.

There were on the one side the old and bloated imperialist nations like England and France, who had long ago divided up among themselves the lion's share of the world's markets into colonies, but whose antiquated industrial techniques made their economic hold very tenuous.

On the other side were the younger imperialist nations like Germany and Japan, which rose late in capitalist development, benefited from that fact in order to equip themselves with the most modern industrial plant, but found the world market already divided and colonies only obtainable by force of arms from the older powers.

In the sphere of the former were also such "sated" secondary powers as Belgium and Holland. In the sphere of the latter, such "hungry" powers as Italy. Their alignment was predicated upon their early or late arrival on the scene of capitalist development.

Hanging over the lot was the threat of the newest capitalist giant, the United States of America. Although it too came late on the scene, America possessed a vast internal market, which enabled it for a long time to enrich itself without coming into direct clash with the other powers.

and at the same time to build the most modern productive plant in the world. In the First World War, which was only a prelude to the second, the United States had participated only as a preventive measure. It wanted to forestall the threat of Germany's swallowing up all of Europe.

Meanwhile, the productive apparatus of world capitalism as a whole had expanded to such an extent as to make even the existing market shrink by comparison. The struggle for markets thus brought every imperialist nation into conflict with every other imperialist nation. Resort to war was determined only by the degree of desperation for markets. "Export or die" was the battle-cry of Nazi Germany in its struggle for "living space."

Already in the First World War, while defeating Germany, both England and France became greatly weakened economically to the great benefit of America, which came out of the war with the greatest gains.

But a factor of the first importance which reduced the market for capitalism as a whole was the great proletarian revolution in Russia in October 1917. By abolishing private property and socializing all industry, the revolution led by the Bolshevik Party at one stroke withdrew one-sixth of the earth from capitalist exploitation.

Under the impact of this event, the first great colonial uprisings took place in the Far East, warning imperialism of the coming universal revolt against its rule. All capitalist powers, after vain attempts to crush the young socialist republic by armed intervention from 1917 to 1921, cast greedy eyes upon this lost market. Their fear of further loss by the spread of the revolution to Europe and their desire to recoup the original loss, attenuated for more than twenty years the struggle they were conducting among themselves. That is why all the victors of 1914-1918 aided in rebuilding capitalist Germany. They meant to use Ger-

→ to page 2

# LABOR CHALLENGE

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## Page 2

many as battering ram against the USSR. At the same time, England hoped by doing her share toward this end to keep her French competitor weakened and to find alliances against the American colossus. France and America had similar aims.

### Rise And Fall Of Nazi Germany

But German capitalism, once helped to its feet, with the high degree of technical culture it had attained, would not rest content with this role. Since the unification of Europe had not been accomplished by a victorious proletarian revolution throughout the continent, the German capitalists undertook this task by reactionary means. That was to be their springboard in the struggle for world domination. To carry out these ambitions, they chose the most murderous and barbaric form of government yet known — the Nazi state of Adolf Hitler. The task of the Nazi state was to subjugate the working class at home, crush the USSR and enter into struggle for hegemony of the world with the USA.

The initial phase of this task was directly aided by the "democratic" powers. It was facilitated by the bankrupt, cowardly, and treacherous policies of the Social Democracy, the Stalinists, and the trade-union officialdom. Even when their own skins were at stake, the latter could not form a united front of the working class to struggle against Nazism. The later phases brought on the clash with the Western powers, on whose side first the Social Democrats and later the Stalinists then participated in the war.

In the Far East, the imperialists similarly looked upon Japan as a bastion against the USSR. There, too, Japan was not content with its role. Swallowing up half of China, with the toleration of the other powers, the Mikado's empire set out to challenge British and American domination over the markets in the Pacific, with the aim of creating a Japanese "Greater East Asia."

The economic resources of Italy, Germany and Japan proved insufficient for the vast totalitarian second imperialist war that ensued. One after another, they finally succumbed in the struggle. But England, France, and the other secondary powers were not any more equal to this struggle of world proportions. Both have come out of the war vastly reduced in stature, their economy weakened as never before, their empires threatened with disintegration. Their real aims in the war—to retain their markets, to continue and increase their colonial exploitation, to safeguard their age-old profit system—were not attained any more than were Germany's and Japan's.

### The Capitalist Victors And Their Prospects

Only the United States came out of the war tremendously strengthened. Its rivals, Japan and Germany, lie in ruins. Its allies, France and England, have become indebted to it to the point of vassalage. But what price victory for the American imperialists?

The USSR, that great sector of the world market withdrawn from capitalist exploitation in 1917, still stands. It even threatens to engulf numerous other countries around its borders, thus further causing the capitalist market to shrink.

The remaining world under capitalist rule has been vastly impoverished and devastated by the war and the purchasing power of its population reduced by half. At the

(Continued on Page 6)

# THE MANIFESTO OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL —

(Continued from Page 5)

same time, American productive capacity has, in the course of the war, more than doubled.

Even if its domination were absolute and unchallenged in the capitalist world, American imperialism could gain profits only during a short boom, while the shelves at home and abroad are still altogether empty because of the conversion of all industry in the past period to war production. Once reconverted industry begins to satisfy pent-up demands, American capitalism must face the crisis of "overproduction": a depression so acute as to put in the shade the memories of 1929-33 with the 15,000,000 unemployed at that time.

But Wall Street's domination is neither unchallenged nor absolute. The other capitalist states, with their lower standard of living and lower wages, still retain a certain degree of importance as competitors to harass it.

A resumption of planned production in the USSR, and particularly its acceleration with a revolutionary overthrow of the Stalin regime and reinstitution of workers' democracy, is an ever-present threat.

Meanwhile the colonial world is rife with revolts — beginning with Indonesia and Indo-China and penetrating India and China as well, not to speak of the Near East and Africa.

The masses of Europe have entered into a sweeping swing to the left, challenging the whole system of capitalism including that of the oldest bourgeoisie in the world, England. Only the cowardice and treachery of the traditional workers' parties (Labor Party, Socialists, Stalinists) to whom the workers turned in the first phase of this swing, and the continued absence of mass revolutionary parties, have for the moment arrested its transformation into successful revolutions.

Wall Street's own army, reflecting the moods of the toiling masses from whom its ranks hail, clamor to go home from all the outposts of the world. The GIs do not want to serve as overseers of a world of slaves. And at home, Big Business has initiated a wage-freezing and union-breaking drive in order to prepare for cheaper production with which to consolidate the markets won by military might. But the masters face a rebellious wave of millions upon millions of strikers resisting this drive, fighting to bring their earnings in line with the rising cost of living.

### The Results Of World War II

Even as regards their real aims, the second imperialist war has resolved none of the basic problems of the world's rulers. On the contrary, they have become more acute than ever. As long as private ownership of the means of production, as long as production for profit, as long as the search for the elusive market amidst a constant decline of the masses' purchasing power continue — that is, as long as capitalism continues to exist — so long must misery and chaos and the inevitable and futile recourse to war persist.

The second imperialist war, with its 50 million dead

and 50 million crippled victims, with its hundreds of millions uprooted from hearth and home, with its immense destruction of cities and devastation of fields, solved nothing. But it was inevitable. The coming third world war, whose only conclusion can be the atomic annihilation of the human race, is just as inevitable as long as capitalism exists.

Make no mistake about it. The third world war is on the way. The anti-Soviet, anti-Communist harangues of Churchill; the spy-scares around the atomic bomb; the orders reestablishing secrecy of troop movements and reactivating air forces in the American army — all these are drum-beats announcing it. In their greed for super-profits the capitalist rulers are entirely heedless of the fate of mankind. The two world wars since 1914 have demonstrated this with shattering effect. Only successful proletarian revolutions which will transform society into a planned socialist order can prevent the third world war and the barbaric self-annihilation of humanity.

### Power Of Marxist Prognosis

When the Nazi panzers rolled over Europe to the English Channel and Hitler still maintained his pact with Stalin, certain impressionable people, rejecting Marxist theory, drew "innovating" conclusions. Europe, according to them, faced a whole epoch of the "New Order." Some even went so far as to see in the events, and in the fact of the Stalin-Hitler pact, the rise of a new class replacing the entrenched capitalists as well as the challenging proletariat for the hegemony of society. They spoke of the new "managerial society," which bracketed under one head: the National Socialist Party of Hitler, the Fascist Party of Mussolini, the New Deal of Roosevelt, and the Stalinist bureaucracy. These innovations found wide currency among the petty bourgeoisie and even penetrated into the ranks of the workers' vanguard. The Fourth International, defending Marxism against the revisionist "innovators," wrote in its Manifesto in 1940:

"In return for the enslavement of the peoples Hitler promises to establish a 'German Peace' in Europe for a period of centuries. An empty mirage! The 'British Peace' after the victory over Napoleon could endure a century — not a thousand years! — solely because Britain was the

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pioneer of a new technology and a progressive system of production. Notwithstanding the strength of her industry, present-day Germany, like her enemies, is the standard bearer of a doomed social system."

How quickly this evaluation has been verified! How quickly have the evaluations of the revisionists been refuted! The power of the Fourth International lies in its

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program, which is capable of withstanding the test of great events.

The fall of Nazi Germany as well as that of Fascist Italy merely proved that even the most brutal and open form of state dictatorship cannot solve the tangled contradictions of the capitalist class. Frenetic fascism, like decadent bourgeois democracy, are doomed because they are merely different forms of the same decayed social system long ago condemned by the development of the productive forces.

The Fourth International in 1940 also castigated the lie that the United States, victorious in the war, would sponsor a democratic European federation of states, sharing the world market with it.

"The state is not an abstraction," the Manifesto said, "but the instrument of monopoly capitalism . . . Voluntary renunciation by the most powerful state of the advantage given by its strength is as ridiculous a Utopia as voluntary division of capital funds among the trusts."

As to the future of the USA itself, the Manifesto declared: "However, the industrial, financial and military strength of the United States, the foremost capitalist power in the world, does not at all insure the blossoming of American economic life, but on the contrary invests the crisis of her social system with an especially malignant and convulsive character."

Compare these prognoses made six years ago with the reality of today. In every important respect the analysis of the Fourth International has stood the test of time!

## **Basic Antagonism In World Today: USSR Versus World Imperialism**

At that time, conjunctural considerations based on the Stalin-Hitler pact aroused speculations about the "fundamental" alignment of the USSR with the fascist states, just as the rupture of the pact and the unleashing of the war between the partners later gave rise to allegations of a "fundamental" alignment of the USSR with the "democratic" states. The theses of the Fourth International long ago gave an evaluation that remains valid:

"Episodic agreements between the bourgeoisie and the USSR do not alter the fact that taken on the historic scale the contradiction between world imperialism and the Soviet Union is infinitely more profound than the antagonisms which set the individual capitalist countries in opposition to each other."

Only on the basis of this evaluation could the unleashing of Hitler's war against the USSR be explained after the Stalin-Hitler pact. Only on the basis of this evaluation can the current violent war-mongering campaign of American imperialism and its British junior partner against their Soviet ally of yesterday be explained today.

The whole period of world politics before us is characterized by this basic contradiction: As long as the USSR exists with its present social structure, despite the ever more monstrous degeneration it has undergone under the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy, it remains an obstacle on the path of the imperialist greed for markets. The second world war did not solve this contradiction, but only sharpened it.

The laying waste of the whole industrial western regions of the USSR has weakened the Soviet Union tremendously from an economic point of view. The reactionary

cracy has weakened the USSR politically by alienating wide strata of its natural allies, the masses of Eastern Europe. But the very fact that the USSR has survived the war, that the bureaucracy has not been able to destroy its social foundations from within, and has even been forced to give an impetus toward the social transformation in varying degrees of the economies of the countries occupied by the Red Army under its command, has increased the acuteness of the problem of imperialism. That is why the imperialists have posed the settling of accounts with the USSR as their most pressing task.

The Fourth International remains unreservedly for the defense of the USSR against imperialism. But this defense, now more than ever, can only be a revolutionary defense. Consequently, it can have nothing in common with the counter-revolutionary policies of the Kremlin.

### **Role Of Stalinist Bureaucracy**

"The defense of the USSR coincides in principle with the preparation of the world proletarian revolution. We flatly reject the theory of socialism in one country, that brain child of ignorant and reactionary Stalinism. Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy."

From 1924 on, when this nefarious theory of "socialism in one country" was first proclaimed by Stalin, the policy of the Kremlin has served to prevent the establishment of socialism in any country. In practice, this theory was meant to justify the entrenchment of a privileged caste of nationalist bureaucrats. Basing itself on the isolation of the young Soviet State amidst the decline of the first revolutionary wave in capitalist Europe, and on the fatigue caused by years of civil war in Russia itself, the bureaucracy sought to assure itself a privileged position at the expense of the masses on whose backs it climbed to power. Rejecting the international policy of Lenin which, with the aid of the workers in all lands, saved the USSR in its first years against imperialist intervention, the Stalinist clique utilized the Communist International he founded to undermine a whole series of revolutionary opportunities.

Thus, in 1926, at the time of the British General Strike, it made opportunist deals with the Laborite trade-union council to prevent the revolutionary development of the great strike wave. In China, from 1925 to 1927, it bound the Communist Party hand and foot to the politics of the bourgeois Kuomintang, which eventuated in the dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek, the hangman of the Chinese proletariat. From 1929 to 1933, it promulgated the concept of "social-fascism" to lump Social Democrats and Nazis under one head, preventing a united-front struggle of the workers' organizations and thus permitting Hitler to come to power. In 1936, when the wave of sit-down strikes raised the question of power in France, the "People's Front" which it had created with the reformists worked to tie the working class to the capitalists. When the civil war broke out in Spain that year, the "People's Front" did everything in its power to restrain the revolutionary action of the masses and to confine them within the stranglehold of bourgeois democracy, thus making possible the victory of Franco. The development of this whole policy was motivated by the desire to ward off attacks from without and permit the bureaucracy to entrench itself within the USSR, by currying favor with the capitalist rulers and their petty bourgeois agents among the masses. In the process the Communist parties were transformed into mere tools of the Kremlin's foreign policy. The natural allies of the USSR, the masses in all capitalist countries, were led by the Stalinists from defeat to defeat.



**LEON SEDOV**

Opposition led by Leon Trotsky. For Trotsky pointed out each step in the growing betrayal, from the proclamation of the theory of "socialism in one country" to the strangling of the Spanish revolution. Only the advanced Communist militants in all countries, rallying to the banner of Trotsky and the International Left Opposition, could at first grasp the counter-revolutionary import of this evolution of the clique which usurped power in the first workers' state. But the Moscow Trials and the blood-purge of the whole generation of Lenin's co-workers in 1937 began to open up the eyes of ever wider strata of workers to the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism.

The Stalin-Hitler pact was accompanied by the partition of Poland and the whitewash propaganda picturing Nazi imperialism as "peace-loving." Fascism became, according to Molotov, "a matter of taste." Broad masses of workers everywhere were repelled by this vile self-debasement of the Kremlin. When Hitler repaid the Stalin clique for the service which inaugurated the war, by unleashing his whole war-machine against the Soviet Union, the Kremlin made an about-face. In a campaign of the

wildest chauvinism, Stalin branded not only the "peace-loving" Nazi band of yesterday, but the whole German people, for the crimes of Hitler!

### Kremlin's Policies

Today, with the military action concluded, the Red Army under Stalinist orders is directed to plunder and pillage industry and homes in Germany, in Austria, in all conquered Eastern Europe. The aim is allegedly to rebuild ruined Soviet industry. That is a foul lie. The pillage and plunder are intended solely to cover up the bankruptcy of the Stalin regime, against which the Soviet masses are growing increasingly restive.

The present foreign policy of the Kremlin, which serves only the bureaucracy and its privileges, is directed ostensibly to strengthen the USSR against imperialism, just as the whole prewar policy was directed toward "neutralizing" the capitalist states and preventing war. But the bloc with the British trade-union fakers, the capitulation to Chiang Kai-shek, the betrayal of the French and the Spanish revolutions, the allowing Hitler to come to power without a struggle, and finally the Stalin-Hitler pact—all these "clever" maneuvers—did not prevent Hitler's war and the devastation of half of Soviet industry. They weakened the Soviet Union tremendously and threw back its progress for years. In exactly the same way, the present counter-revolutionary policy of pillage and plunder in Eastern Europe and Asia, and of outright suppression of the movement of the masses in these countries, cannot but lead to the inevitable strengthening of American imperialism and the preparations it is making for the ultimate crushing of the USSR.

In 1940, Trotsky wrote:

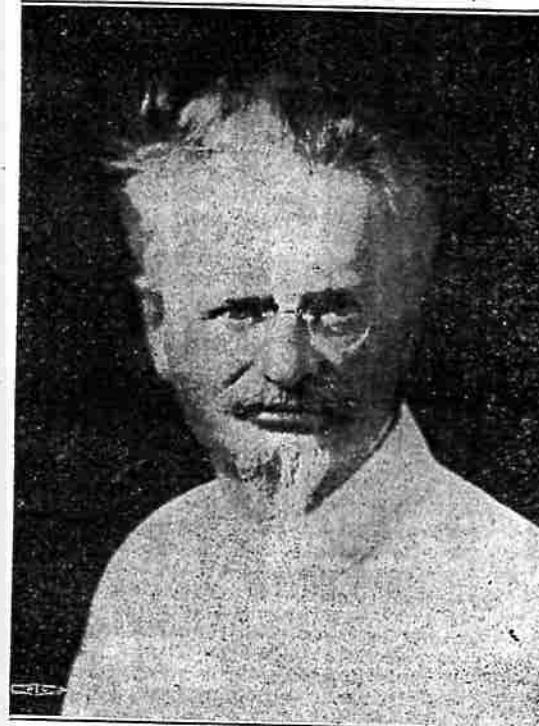
"As a consequence of the first period of the war, the international position of the USSR, despite the window-trimming successes, has already obviously worsened. The foreign policy of the Kremlin has repelled from the USSR broad circles of the world working class and the oppressed peoples . . . Meanwhile Germany has obtained the most important and the most industrialized section of Poland and gained a common frontier with the USSR, that is, a gateway to the east."

A year later, this warning was completely borne out!

Today the Fourth International warns: in spite of the advances in territory, in spite of the wholesale looting, the policy of the Kremlin has in this latest phase of the conflict still further weakened the international position of the USSR. The peoples of Eastern Europe smart under the criminal policy of the Kremlin and turn, as the elections in Austria and Hungary have shown, to the most backward parties as an expression of their anger. In the Far East, the insurrectionary mood of the masses is making itself felt not only in the territories under British and American domination, but also in Korea and Manchuria, where the Red Army rules. Meanwhile, American imperialism has penetrated the very outposts of the USSR everywhere, strategically encircling its territory from Eastern Europe to China, the whole stretch of the globe.

The Kremlin oligarchy thus only facilitates the aims of imperialism against the USSR itself and at the same time undertakes the task of directly suppressing the independent movements of the masses for their emancipation, hatred and fear of which it shares with the capitalist rulers.

Only the revolutionary action of the masses can forestall the plans of predatory imperialism, defend the USSR by extending the social overturn of October 1917. But the



## LEON TROTSKY

gle for the overthrow of the counter-revolutionary Stalinist regime in the USSR itself and its replacement by Soviets elected freely by workers and peasants. The defense of the USSR thus implies directly the defense of the European and world revolution against Stalinism.

### Present Revolutionary Situation

Are the conditions ripe for the revolutionary action of the masses? Will not Stalinism on the one hand, and the Social Democratic helpers of world imperialism on the other, prevent revolutionary developments once more from reaching a successful conclusion? Will the Fourth International, with the small forces at its disposal today, succeed in overcoming these obstacles and in giving leadership to the masses? These are questions that no doubt are bound to be raised by serious-minded workers.

The past defeats of the working class, under Social Democratic and Stalinist leadership, hang heavy indeed. These were grave blows. The great weight of Stalinism today undoubtedly remains a grave obstacle. But as against these, there must be weighed the fact that today the critical situation of world capitalism is by far graver than ever before. That is the point of departure for revolutionists, for those who seek to point out the road to action to the masses.

Long ago the Fourth International enumerated the conditions for the workers' revolution:

"The basic conditions for the victory of the proletarian revolution have been established by historical ex-

passe and the resulting confusion of the ruling class; 2) the sharp dissatisfaction and the striving towards decisive changes in the ranks of the petty-bourgeoisie without whose support the big bourgeoisie cannot maintain itself; 3) the consciousness of the intolerable situation and readiness for revolutionary actions in the ranks of the proletariat; 4) a clear program and a firm leadership of the proletarian vanguard—these are the four conditions for the victory of the proletarian revolution."

Never has the impasse of capitalism been more tangled or the confusion of the ruling class more widespread. In one country after another, inflation is rampant. The burden of the state debt reaches astronomical figures. The decline in the standard of living and the impoverishment of the masses of the population as a whole reaches unprecedented proportions. In spite of a degree of government regulation and control never before attained, the economic crisis continues to rise in a dizzy spiral and, being already acute in Europe and in the colonies, threatens to overtake the most stable economy in the world, that of the USA.

After the First World War the bourgeoisie, in order to re-establish the class equilibrium in society threatened by the revolutionary wave that commenced in Russia, resolved to make considerable economic concessions to the masses. It thus lent a certain degree of stability to the political regime of social reformism, which was called upon to save it from destruction. After this war such a strategy is a luxury which the capitalist class can no longer afford. Particularly in Europe, where unproductive expenditure for war needs and the vast destruction of capital values have enormously reduced the specific weight of the economy in the world market, the bourgeoisie can hope to rebuild ever so slightly its profit-making capital only by a further onslaught on the wages and living standards of the masses. But this holds true in a broader sense of England and the USA as well.

If the government is therefore permitted to fall into the hands of the Labor Party in England, or of a coalition of the Socialists and Stalinists with bourgeois democratic parties in a "People's Front" in France, Belgium, etc., that is not the design of the bourgeoisie. The ruling class tolerates these "leftist" regimes because the pressure of the workers and the mass of the population is too strong, their own forces are as yet too weak, for an open dictatorship. The capitalists reckon that the consequences of the economic breakdown will heap discredit upon the traditional parties of the masses which have been driven to take power. They correctly assess the cowardice of these parties, who fear to go beyond the limits of the bourgeois structure of the state, who leave the reactionary army and police set-up unchanged, who stand in awe of private property which is so sacred to the bourgeoisie.

While the hatred of the trusts leads the workers and peasants to clamor for the socialization of industry, the reformist parties in power are forced to take measures of "nationalization." But these measures do not touch the property rights of Big Business. They assure the owners of "nationalized" plants full compensation, thus imposing new burdens on an already overburdened economy. By means of government bonds issued to them in place of their former stocks, the capitalists are assured continued profits. The direction of "nationalized" industries, instead of being turned over to workers' committees, is in effect left in the hands of the old managers who serve the trusts. By means of these fictitious "nationalizations," the bourgeoisie thus aims to concentrate ever more the power over the whole economy in the grasp of monopoly capitalism.

While the Socialist and Stalinist ministers disarm the in-

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sprang up in the course of the Nazi occupation, while they put down all manifestations of class revolt in the armed forces, the bourgeoisie concentrates the permanent apparatus of the state (army, police, secret service) in its own hands. Behind the scenes it prepares and conspires with royal dynasties and reactionary generals for the proper moment to seize full control of the state and set up new Bonapartist dictatorships.

Meanwhile, the whole policy of the bourgeoisie, based on the aggravated economic situation, is marked by indecision and vacillation. After more than a year of efforts to bolster his position by authoritarian ultimatums, de Gaulle steps aside and into the background in France. In Belgium the bourgeoisie alternately pushes forward and retreats in its campaign for the return of King Leopold. In Greece, the attempts to reinstall the monarchy under the protection of British bayonets foreshadow open civil war. And so forth, and so on.

### Fate of Petty Bourgeoisie

At the same time, the petty bourgeoisie, upon whose support monopoly capitalism has in the past depended both for its internal aims (fascism) and for its foreign policy (war) has been torn loose from the control of Big Business. In the countries where fascism has been the state form no less than in the "democratic" countries, the process of proletarianization and pauperization of the urban middle class has not only not been halted, but accelerated by the wiping out of savings and the absolute decline in the standard of living brought about by inflation. On the other hand, the peasantry which, as in every war, seems to have profited from the black-market conditions, is in reality no better off than before. Its profits are mainly in devaluated currency. With its paper riches it cannot buy the necessary and increasingly more costly agricultural machinery, fertilizer, cattle, etc. Thus a new and more acute agrarian crisis looms ahead.

Furthermore, the war has blown up the old petty bourgeois illusions of national unity. The big bourgeoisie has revealed itself to be thoroughly "collaborationist." The discontent of the petty bourgeoisie and its efforts for a decisive change are revealed in the mass swing to the parties traditionally known to it as labor parties. The tremendous victory of the British Labor Party, the huge vote for the Socialists and Stalinists in France, in Belgium and in Italy, the mass support for the EAM in Greece, etc., etc., cannot be understood except in this light.

Meanwhile, the mounting wave of strikes, which involve one country after another in Europe and in the Far East, reaching their highest points in the American citadel of world capitalism itself and spreading into its semi-colonies in South America, attest by their persistence and high degree of militancy as by their advanced slogans ("for the sliding scale of wages," "open the books of the big corporations," etc.) to a growing consciousness of an intolerable situation in the ranks of the working class. The incipient formation, during the first period of the war's end, of workers' militias and factory committees in Italy, in France, in Belgium — for the time being thrown back through the connivance of the Stalinists and reformists with the bourgeoisie — were clear indications of preparations for revolutionary action.

If these elements in the preparation for revolutionary action have not yet matured actually in Europe, this is in no small measure due to the unprecedented physical col-

revolutionary struggle all over the continent was expected in the form of the outbreak of the German revolution. The criminal campaign of chauvinism unleashed during the war by the Kremlin against the German people including the working class — and supported by the treacherous reformist and Stalinist parties in all the "democratic" countries — served to bewilder the German masses in the course of the catastrophic military developments and to paralyze their action with the increasing debacle of the Nazi regime. At the same time the "Big Three" connived to prevent the outbreak of revolution by concerted physical destruction never before known to history (on a much larger and vaster scale than the bombardments against insurrectionary Turin and Milan after the fall of fascism).

### Perspectives in Germany

Before the German working class, potentially the most powerful in Europe and the one with the longest revolutionary traditions, can take the road to revolution which it undoubtedly will, the physical prerequisites (reestablishment of a minimum of food, shelter, communications, and the return of its millions of young men from the prison camps) will have to be fulfilled. But the failure of the revolution to break out immediately in Germany has only slowed down the tempo of development. It has not in the slightest altered the trend.

In spite of this fact, in spite of the disarming of the workers' militias, in spite of the crushing of the armed struggle of the masses in Greece, we have not witnessed a turn toward reaction. None of these defeats has been decisive. On the contrary, all attempts of reaction to entrench itself (through the monarchy in Greece, Italy, Belgium, through the establishment of an authoritarian executive in France) have thus far met with the greatest resistance on the part of the masses, and failed of their purpose.

On the other hand, the workers do not confine themselves to combatting all these reactionary attempts. They go over to the offensive. The strikes against the freezing of wages, directed against the bourgeois regimes in which their "own" parties participate, objectively pose the question of state power.

While the revolutionary developments show a slackening of tempo in Europe, they take on a more accelerated pace elsewhere. The waves of strikes and soldiers' demonstrations in the USA testify to a speedy development of the revolutionary consciousness of the American masses, in the past much more backward than those in Europe in this respect. But of even greater importance is the present ripening of the revolutionary struggle in the colonies. Starting out with tenacious insurrections against British, French, and Dutch imperialism in Indonesia and Indo-China, and with an incipient revolt even against hypocritical "liberating" American imperialism in the Philippines, the wave of struggle in the Far East has penetrated the Indian masses.

These great political strikes and mutinies foreshadow the outbreak of nation-wide insurrections with the object of overthrowing all imperialist rule. The effect in China and later in Japan, is certain to make itself felt. In the Near East as well, the persistent mass demonstrations and strikes of the Egyptian masses are the prelude to the revolutionary uprising of the masses in all the Arab lands.

The world situation thus shows all the earmarks of fulfilling the first three conditions for a victory of the proletarian revolution, which were posed in the Manifesto of 1940. What about the fourth — is there a "clear program and a firm leadership of the proletarian vanguard?"

Posed differently, the question is: In a situation which is undoubtedly more favorable for revolution than ever before, both because of its profound crisis character as well as its universal extent, does the party exist which is necess-

words, succeed in transforming the present revolutionary minority into mass parties of the working class? Or will the old parties, the reformists and Stalinists, once again be able to betray the revolution?

To answer this question, we must put it in its proper setting. The present situation is not one of a conjunctural crisis. It is not a question of a single uprising in a given country. It is a question of a whole revolutionary period taking place on a world-wide scale. The capitalist world has no other way out except its prolonged death agony. In such a period the programs of the old parties — the Socialists and the Stalinists — cannot have the slightest validity among the masses. That is why they are bound to clash with them. On the other hand, our program is built precisely for this epoch. In the turbulent developments occurring before us, our program has already found and will continue to find growing response.

Only a few short years ago, skeptics and dilettantes ridiculed the Transitional Program of the Fourth International. Today its main slogans — "For a Sliding Scale of Wages and Hours," "For Nationalization Without Compensation," "Open the Books of the Big Corporations to Inspection by Workers Committees," "For Workers' Militias," "For a Workers' and Peasants' Government" — are beginning to echo from the lips of millions in all parts of the world. The program is clear. The growing response it receives shows the great possibilities that open up for the building of mass parties of the Fourth International.

The building of mass parties, however, even in the most favorable situations, is a process that entails great difficulties. A whole complex of organizational problems requires mastery. Confidence must be established in the relationship between the leadership and the party, between the party and the masses. Not everywhere is the process even. Undoubtedly there will be situations still where the failure of a mass party, of a revolutionary leadership to develop in time, will cause a partial defeat. But it is precisely because a whole epoch is involved that such defeats are partial, that the task of rapidly building mass parties is constantly posed before us anew, that the opportunities increase. That is the perspective on which the young parties of the Fourth International base themselves.

A firm revolutionary leadership is developed, in the first place, in defense of the program. If the program of the Fourth International is today beginning to penetrate millions, if it is beginning to be verified in the test of action, that is due first and foremost to the ability of the young cadre parties of the International to withstand all assaults on its foundations and to survive against all the obstacles placed in their path.

### Fourth International Has Survived The Test Of War And Reaction

The cadres of the Fourth International were gathered in the bitter struggle against the stream, in the years of reaction that followed the decline of the revolutionary wave after the First World War. The slogan of Trotsky, the founder of the Fourth International, was from the beginning of its development in 1923: "Back to Lenin!" That was the original battle-cry of the Trotskyist Left Opposition against Stalin and the whole clique that then began its counter-revolutionary course by revising the internationalist, class-struggle theory of Lenin and Marx. That was the battle-cry which in the years that followed signified the devotion of the Trotskyists to the program and concept of the Bolshevik party, the first and only party in history which showed how the proletarian revolution can be successfully achieved.

At the outbreak of the Second World War, the Fourth International

tempts to revise the foundations of the revolutionary program. This time in its own ranks. It was in that struggle against the trying test of the war years that ensued. "Back to Lenin," back to proletarian internationalism, to fraternization between the warring peoples, to the revolutionary defense of the USSR, to the continuation of the class struggle, to the preparation for the coming revolutionary tasks—that was the battle-cry of the Fourth International in the dark years under the Nazi terror and amidst "Allied" persecution.

The Second International disappeared without a trace and the Social Democratic parties within it became transformed into miserable propaganda agencies of Anglo-American imperialism. The collapse repeated in more grotesque form its performance of 1914-18.

The Third International, after being corroded by years of betrayal, was merely traded out of existence by Stalin in exchange for Wall Street's Lend-Lease.

All the centrist organizations, like the London Bureau, simply broke up into their component parts.

Only the Fourth International held high the banner of proletarian internationalism, of the revolutionary struggle against war. Only the Fourth International withstood the test of war. Only the Fourth International remained true to the program of Marxism, to the traditions of the October Revolution. "Back to Lenin" remains our battle-cry, for that is the battle-cry of proletarian victory.

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# THE MANIFESTO OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL —

(Continued from Page 7)

The war has been a terrible trial for the Fourth International. Aligned against it were all the powers of present-day society, from imperialism and its war machines to the Stalinist bureaucracy and its GPU.

In the very first year of the war, in August 1940, the Fourth International was bereft of its founder and organizer, of the great revolutionary genius of our time. Leon Trotsky was foully assassinated by an agent of the GPU in Mexico. It was a monstrous blow. Our enemies thought that it was fatal for the young International. But Trotsky had built better than they knew. Trotsky was dead, but the International he built took the dastardly blow as a challenge. The Fourth International honored the memory of its great martyr by expanding and growing more than ever before.

In France, in Belgium, in Holland, in Greece, on the whole European continent the cadres of the Fourth International were submitted to the murderous terror of Hitler's Gestapo.

Leon Lesoil, Marcel Hie, Pantelis Poliopoulos and their friends, a whole generation of heroic Trotskyist leaders, fell victims to Nazi and Fascist bestiality.

Right in the midst of the Nazi domination of Europe, French and German Trotskyists together organized fraternization between soldiers and workers. They published and spread within Hitler's Wehrmacht the remarkable newspaper "Arbeiter und Soldat" which held high the banner of proletarian internationalism even as the storm of chauvinism was still raging. Sixty Trotskyist soldiers and workers under the leadership of the dauntless Victor Widelin paid for this work with their lives. Their memory will be cherished by all workers when the Fourth International triumphs.

In Greece, the vile agents of Stalin murdered over a hundred of the best fighters of the Fourth International right in the midst of the civil war of December 1944.

But they could not kill the world party of the socialist revolution. In spite of the frightful and debilitating losses, the sections of the Fourth International have grown all over the European continent.

In England and America, the "democratic" bourgeoisie clamped the Trotskyist leaders, alone among all the working class parties, into the jail of Roosevelt and Churchill. They sought to decapitate the parties. But the British and American Trotskyists, no less than their European brothers, took the persecution as a challenge and redoubled their energies.

Even more vicious were the persecutions and jailings meted out to our comrades in India and China, in the colonies. But there, too, the fighters of the Fourth International proved equal to the challenge of the rulers.

In the very midst of the war, with terror and persecution at their fiercest, new sections of the Fourth Interna-

America.

The fact that neither Stalin, nor Hitler, nor the "democratic" imperialists, were able to suppress the onward march of the Fourth International is a token for the future. It shows the workers that the surest way to overcome the treachery of Stalinism and reformism lies in rallying to the new parties, to the parties which learned to swim against the stream with the program of the Fourth International.

The test of the war has shown that the Fourth International is not only a living reality but possesses such vitality that not even the most adverse conditions can impede its growth. This Conference, calling the roll of the sections after years of interrupted relations, can proudly say to the workers of the world:

Your International lives! The Fourth International has survived the worst years of reaction and imperialist war! The parties of the Fourth International are everywhere in a process of growth and maturing!

More than that, this Conference can report to the workers of the world that, despite isolation and lack of direct communications during the war, the parties of the Fourth International find themselves in greater programmatic solidarity than ever! The strength of the Fourth International, its own experiences have shown, lies in its unshakable Marxist program. The survival and growth of the Fourth International in the struggle against reaction and war augurs well for the development of its sections into the mass revolutionary parties which are needed to transform the present favorable revolutionary situations into successful revolutions. The overthrow of capitalism, the next step toward the establishment of the world federation of socialist states which alone can prevent the annihilation of another war and solve the crisis of humanity—that is the task for which the Fourth International has been prepared by its whole past.

### Program Of The Fourth International

This Conference of the Fourth International meets after the so-called "United Nations Organization" has

→ top 7

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adjourned its sessions in London and as preparations are being made to hold their "Peace" Conference at secret sessions next month in Paris. The U.N.O. Conference was marked by clashes between the representatives of American and British imperialism on the one hand, and of the Stalinist bureaucracy on the other. Hypocritical concern over the fate of small nations served to cover up the clash. The "Laborite" Bevin bemoans the fate of Iran, Rumania, and Bulgaria at the hands of the Kremlin while continuing in full the arch-imperialist Churchill's policy in the British Empire and in Greece. The representative of the Stalinist bureaucracy, Vyshinsky, bemoans the fate of Greece and Indonesia at the hands of Britain while the Kremlin violates the conscience of the workers of the world by its shameful actions in Eastern Europe and in Asia. Two bureaucrats, raised on the backs of the workers to power, play the game as "world rulers" according to the prescriptions laid down by rotten imperialist diplomacy. The UNO even elects the "Socialist" Spaak of Belgium as its chairman and the "Laborite" Lie of Norway as its general secretary.

But none of this "leftist" camouflage can hide the fact that the UNO is merely a new edition of that imperialist League of Nations which Lenin dubbed the "thieves' kitchen." Not a single act in this assembly aroused the slightest enthusiasm among the masses of the world. Its debates were watched with fear and apprehension, or at best apathy, by the world's peoples. No one expressed any hope that it would solve any of the problems facing humanity. It was simply accepted as a new arena of combat among the warring powers, completely belying its name. The "Peace" Conference in Paris is not regarded with any greater optimism.

But even while the diplomats are heckling each other in London or in Paris, the revolutionary storm is brewing in India, in Egypt. Developing events there follow the pattern set forth by the program not of the aborted UNO or of any of its participants—but by the program of the Fourth International. That is why we can say with assurance that the deliberations of our Conference are of infinitely greater importance than those of the bourgeois "international" with all its imposing facade and for all the labor-camouflage lent to it by the treacherous reformists and Stalinists.

This Conference of the Fourth International calls upon all workers, all the exploited and oppressed, not to despair at the handiwork of their masters, but to take up the struggle against them. Not merely to disdain their misleaders, but to impose upon them their own will. The present masters of the world dangle the threat of the horrendous atomic bomb to cow mankind. But they forget that atomic bombs, too, need the hands of workers to be produced. They forget that workers in uniform will be required to handle the dread weapons. Workers, filled with distrust for their greedy bosses, will know how to strike in atom-bomb factories as well as at other points of production. Soldiers, filled with hatred for their imperialist rulers, will know how to prevent the utilization of this weapon of self-annihilation. They need but the consciousness of the power of the world-wide solidarity of the working class and of its revolutionary socialist goal. That is the only way to face the threat of the atomic bomb.

### Call To Action

The World Conference of the Fourth International, in summoning the international proletariat to action, hails first and foremost the heroic struggle of the Indian and Egyptian masses who, as the Conference convenes, have entered upon the path of revolutionary overthrow of the yoke of British imperialism. It notes with satisfaction that in these mass upheavals signs are already evident that the attempt of American imperialism to profit from the dilemma of its British rival is being met with open hostility and demonstrative resistance. It warns against the attempts of the colonial bourgeoisie, tied to imperialism by its capitalist interests, to curb the struggle and sell it out. No trust in Gandhi, Nehru, Patel, and their counterparts! The struggle in India, Egypt, Indonesia, Indo-China, and every other colonial people for national independence, for complete freedom from imperialist oppression, can be successful only by an uncompromising fight against the oppressors. Only the young working class, supported by the peasant masses, can lead the struggle to a victorious culmination!

Form your own workers' and peasants' council to organize the struggle! Seize the land for those who till it! Establish control over the factories by workers' committees! Do not permit the bourgeois leaders and the Stalinist betrayers to conclude a rotten compromise with imperialism! Demand the immediate convocation of a Constituent Assembly which will freely express the will of the people and their right to govern themselves as they wish!

The struggle of the colonial masses for freedom is part and parcel of the struggle of the workers in England, in Europe, in America, against the same imperialist masters. The Fourth International calls upon the workers of the great metropolitan countries to rally to the defense of the colonial masses!

Hands off the Indian Revolution! Hands off the revolution in Indo-China, in Indonesia, in Egypt, the Far East and in the Near East! That must become the determined cry of the workers in England, America, and Europe against the machinations of their capitalist masters!

The oppression in the old colonies is faced with revolt just as the imperialist masters in accord with the Kremlin bureaucracy, are attempting to foist the same kind of predatory oppression upon the masses of the defeated imperialist nations—Germany, Japan, Italy. The Fourth International calls upon the workers of the "democratic" nations to rise up against these reactionary plans.

Against the chauvinist lies which attempt to cast the war guilt of all the imperialists on the shoulders of the German, the Japanese, the Italian proletariat, the Fourth International calls upon the American, the British, and the European workers to demonstrate their class solidarity with the workers in the defeated countries. Withdraw the troops from Germany, Japan, Italy! Full freedom for the masses of these countries to decide their own fate—freedom of speech, of press, of assembly, free elections!

Only by raising these demands against the imperialist oppressors and their Kremlin henchmen can the German, the Japanese, and the Italian masses be won by the workers of the "Allied" nations for their common goal: the Socialist United States of Europe and the World!

In all countries, the raging inflation and enormous tax programs, by means of which world capitalism is attempting to shift the burden of its war debt upon the backs of the masses, must be met by the counter-offensive of the masses led by the working class. The Fourth International calls upon the workers to defend themselves through these slogans:

For a Sliding Scale of Hours! Share the Work Among all Able to Work! Reduce the Work-Week Without Any Reduction in Pay!

The war has revealed what prodigious feats of production modern industry is capable of. But under capitalism these great productive efforts all go for war, for destruction. With the end of the war, factories stand idle—capitalism cannot produce for peace. The Fourth International calls upon the workers in every country to demand: Open the Idle Factories! Operate Them Under Worker's Control! To the laments of the bourgeoisie that these measures would "ruin the economy," the Fourth International calls upon the workers to demand: "Open the Books of the Trusts to Inspection by Workers' Committees! Abolish the Business Secrets! In this way the robbery and plunder of monopoly capitalism will be revealed to all.

In Great Britain, in France, in the other Western European countries, the leftward swing of the masses has put the monopoly capitalists and their trusts on the defensive. To the rising demand for the socialization of industry, the Labor government and the coalitions of social reformists and Stalinists with the bourgeois parties are replying with "nationalizations" which leave the profits of the capitalists untouched. Thus the monopolists are in a position to utilize the cover of such "nationalizations" to increase their strangle hold over the economy. The Fourth International warns against these fake measures and calls on the workers to demand:

Nationalizations Without Indemnity and Without Compensation! For Workers' Control over the Nationalized Industries!

To put through these necessary measures, without which there is no way to prevent world-wide crises from plunging humanity deeper into the death-agony of capitalism, the workers' organizations must break with the capitalist parties, must carry on independent working-class politics. The Fourth International therefore calls upon the masses to demand of their traditional organizations:

Break the Coalition with the Capitalists! Take Full Power! Form Workers' and Peasants' Governments! Apply a Genuine Anti-Capitalist Program under the Control and Protection of Workers' and Peasants' Committees!

The Fourth International puts forward these slogans while participating actively in the daily struggles of the masses, while going through their experiences with them and drawing the lessons of these experiences. In the course of the common struggle, the parties of the Fourth International unfold its full program, the program of the socialist revolution and the establishment of free workers' republics within the world federation of socialist states. In the fight for this program the Fourth International calls upon the workers to combat chauvinism, both of the reformist and the Stalinist variety. In the Eastern European countries, particularly, it calls upon the workers to combat the fierce chauvinism of the Kremlin by fraternization with the troops of the Red Army. To combat the reactionary bureaucratic policy of pillage and plunder, they must unfold their independent movement of workers' and peasants' councils to enforce socialization of industry and the division of the land among the poor peasants, to fight for their democratic rights, for the right of all nationalities to self-determination. To fight successfully for these demands, the toilers of Eastern Europe will join forces with the workers of the USSR to overthrow the reactionary bureaucracy under Stalin and re-

establish the workers' state as a genuine Soviet democracy. In opposition to social reformists and Stalinists, the Fourth International constructs its policy, not on the basis of the military and diplomatic designs of the capitalist states, but upon the crying needs of the workers, the exploited, the oppressed. Its program is the program of full emancipation of the working class from capitalist exploitation, of the colonial peoples from imperialist rule, of the Soviet masses from the blight of paralyzing bureaucracy. The Fourth International supports none of the existing regimes. It calls upon the workers to overthrow these regimes and to establish their own power. The overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of workers' power is a task that can be fulfilled only on a world scale.

Only socialist states, united in a world federation of socialist republics, can banish war for all time, organize production for use, with plenty for all, and bring about the society of the free and equal. Only a socialist world federation can transform atomic energy from its present position as a threat of annihilation against mankind into an unprecedented boon for the progress of humanity.

This is our program, Workers of the World, there is no way out but this: to unite under the banner of the Fourth International!

The International Conference of the  
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of the Socialist Revolution

Brussels, April, 1946

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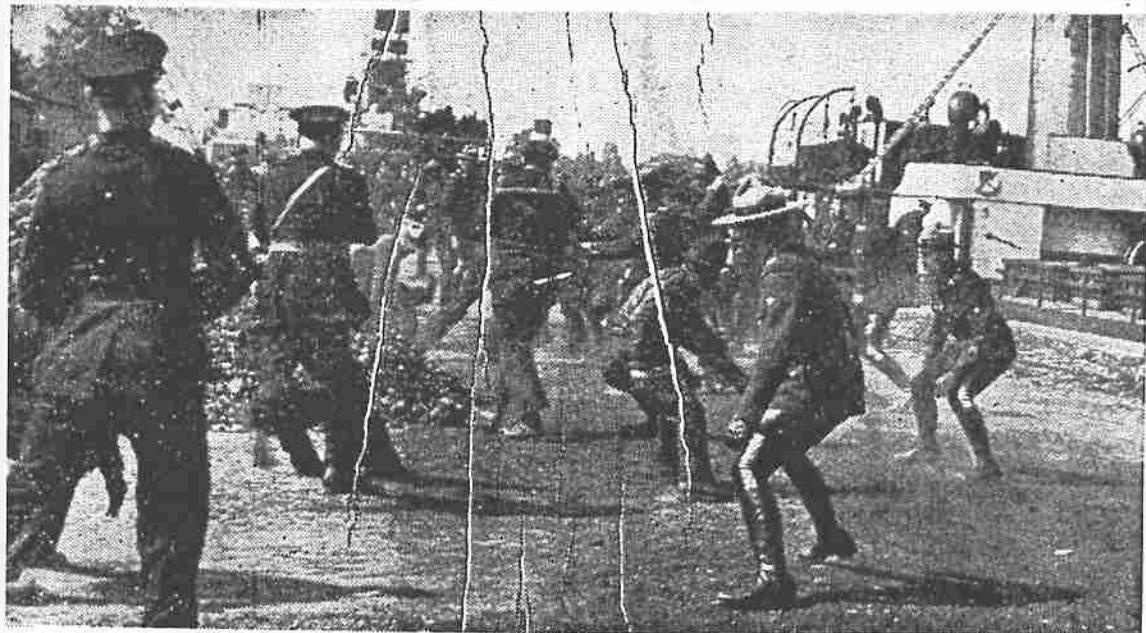
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**Militant Seamen Paralyse Lake Shipping*****Battling Police for the 8-Hour Day***

Striking seamen battling against Ontario provincial police and "Mounties" who are protecting strikebreakers on board ship in the Welland Canal. The militant members of the Canadian Seamen's Union, fighting for the eight hour day on Lake and Coastal ships, won the battle of the canals.

By ROSS DOWSON

TORONTO, June 13.—The Seamen's heroic and militant battles with the police, scabs, and armed thugs hired by the shipowners, have brought Great Lake shipping all the way from the Lakehead to Montreal to a standstill. The Patterson Lines and the Sarnia and Colonial Steamship Company, two of the "Big Three" steamship companies, have ordered their boats to "tie up in port." They have been beaten to their knees by the organized might of the Canadian Seamen's Union.

The union's demand for the eight hour day and collective bargaining contracts with all steamship companies before any ship moves in the Great Lakes has been sharply rejected by the profit-fat shipowners.

While the tie up by two big companies is a recognition of the power and effectiveness of the seamen's strike, it also heralds a new shift in the operators' fight against the union. The past week has witnessed a terrific campaign, launched by the shipowners and their political servants the Liberal and Conservative politicians against the strikers. The increasing shortage of coal and oil arising out of

(Continued on Page 2)



06-15<sup>th</sup>-1a

# Seamen Paralyse Lake Shipping

(Continued from Page 1)

the shipowners' refusal to accept the union's demands is being used to whip up hostility to the strikers. Minister of Labor Mitchell's violent red baiting speech against the union leadership is an unconcealed government attack on the Canadian labor movement. The Patterson Line tied up under orders of the general manager supposedly because "under existing police protection it is impossible to operate." The boss government is preparing to answer their masters' voice with more protection, more police and the possible use of the militia to smash the strike.

## A DEMONSTRATION OF LABOR'S POWER

The Seamen have demonstrated once more the power of organized labor, the great ingenuity of the working class and their readiness to militantly struggle for their demands.

The decisive battles in a campaign which rages along a two

thousand mile front, are being fought at Cornwall and Thorold, both strategically situated at the two key canal systems.

At Cornwall the seamen smashed an invasion force of 40 armed thugs who had been hired by the shipowners to break the strike. The seamen have blocked all attempts of struck boats to "run" the canal by using boarding parties to remove scabs and force the officers to drop anchor. Only the threat of a general strike by the 8,900 organized workers in Cornwall and the fear that scabs have of the Cornwall strikers prevented the shipowners from carrying out their plans to invade the town with 600 strikebreakers "to get the ships out of Cornwall with or without the aid of the authorities."

At Thorold the leadership has not been so firm. The seamen were held back by their leaders from storming the Noronic. In the past week the CSL steamer Collingwood carrying pulpwood and two other vessels assigned to the scrap heap have been allowed through. The union leaders even offered to man a struck ship clear of the locks. But here too the seamen have courageously battled the 200 RCMP who have escorted boats through the locks and run scabs through the picket lines. Boarding parties and stowaway unionists have removed scabs from many boats.

## SOLIDARITY OF U.S. AND SHORE WORKERS

At the Lakehead more than 26 ships are tied up. Midland longshoremen have now joined the ranks of the Fort William longshoremen and refuse to unload non-union ships. While the CSU has so far failed to call out salt water crews, crews in Sydney, Halifax, Walton, St. Johns and several other ports have struck.

CIO pickets at Toledo, Ohio have turned back Imperial Oil tankers which have no union contract. Duluth longshoremen refuse to unload a CSL ship. The Noronic after successfully running the Welland canal got a hot reception from Detroit workers when she tried to tie up there. She was compelled to put in to Sarnia where she was immediately struck.

## ARMY READIED

Early in the strike Captain H. N. McMaster, president of the scab and company controlled National Maritime Federation called for the militia. When W. H. Coverdale, president and general manager of the powerful Canadian Steamship Lines remarked that "matters will be so out of hand nothing short of militia will control this uprising" the brass hat sat Camp Borden assured him that the transport plans had been mapped out over a week ago by the Camp Borden Command and they were in very close touch with Military District No. 2 authorities.

Over 85 seamen are on charge before the capitalist courts for defending their jobs. They now face the threat of the militia. But Pat Sullivan, Alderman Ferguson and other Stalinist leaders of the CSU continue to call upon the government to intercede in the strike and operate the ships. The government has already interceded in the seamen's strike. The RCMP and the Provincial police have smashed through the picket lines time and time again and have brutally assaulted the seamen. The government through its courts and in Parliament has stood solid behind the shipowners. Further government interference would result only in a better organized attempt to smash the strike. The Union's demand will be won despite the government, its police and its laws, on the picket lines.

The Canadian seamen along with the West Coast loggers, Anaconda and Textile strikers, have so far fought Canadian labor's fight alone. Their courageous battle has tied up Great Lakes shipping but now they need the aid of all Canadian labor to win their demands. What the seamen need is not only gestures of solidarity, donations, etc., but support on the picket line. The Canadian workers must break through the straight-jacket imposed upon them by the timorous trade union bureaucrats and join the seamen on the picket lines... strike now for the 40 hour week and the 25 cent an hour wage increase.

06-15-16

# Election Gains Registered By French Trotskyist Party

*Special to Labor Challenge*

PARIS, June 4.—The election returns to the new Constituent Assembly show that the French Communist (Stalinist) Party has held its own, gaining in popular vote by 141,204 but losing four seats; that the reformist Socialist Party (SFIO) has lost 303,405 votes and 16 seats; that the moderate Catholic Republican Popular Movement (MRP) made a big gain of 1,009,009 votes and 17 seats; that the reactionary Republican Liberal Party (PRL) and other right-wing groups lost slightly by 353,223 votes.

Out of 548 seats the Stalinists have 144, the SFIO 120, the MRP 162, the PRL 35, the Radical (old line pre-war bourgeois party) bloc 41 and various Independents 23. The Assembly is almost equally divided: Stalinists, Socialists and diverse 268 seats and MRP, PRL and others 267 seats.

Thus the social crisis in France remains unsolved. In the period to come there will be stormy outbreaks as the pressure from the workers to relieve their unbearable conditions, due to rising prices amidst wage freezing mounts. The Stalinists, particularly, will be hard put to circumvent their public declaration in favor of general wage increases, which was issued at the last moment as an electoral manoeuvre.

The Parti Communiste Internationaliste, French section of the Fourth International, running in its first nation-wide campaign with candidates' lists in 11 electoral circumscriptions, recorded 44,915 votes for its standard bearers, with some 10,000 cast in the Paris area alone. In the face of the tremen-

dous difficulties and disadvantages this can be said to be a good showing and augurs well for real gains in the future. The campaign has succeeded in its main aim, namely to put the PCI on the map; to bring the party to the wide attention of the masses as the revolutionary internationalist party of the working class. This great and successful propaganda effort is bound to bear fruit in the period ahead.

The details of the PCI vote are as follows:

Paris 1st sector ..	4,677	(1%)
Paris 3rd sector ..	6,039	(1.5%)
Paris 5th sector ..	4,589	(1.25%)
Finistere .....	4,168	(1.02%)
Gironde .....	7,698	(2%)
Isere .....	3,751	(1.25%)
Marne .....	3,890	(2%)
Puy de Dome ..	2,891	(1%)
Rhone (1st circ.) ..	4,949	(1.75%)
Lot et Gironne ..	970	(0.9%)
Savoie .....	1,493	(1.4%)
Total .....	44,915	(1.37%)

The PCI figures are accurate, all other figures exclude the 38 colonial areas.

## FRENCH INVADE SIAM IN DRIVE TO WIN EMPIRE

By MIKE CORT ✓

Siam has appealed to the United Nations for assistance in the face of aggression from French imperialism. On May 24 France threw troops into Siamese territory while pursuing 20,000 Annamite guerrilla soldiers who have been fighting for the independence of Indo-China. Supported by planes, tanks and artillery, French troops invaded Siam and looted the Mekong River village of Noug Kai.

Last March 6 the French signed an agreement with the Indo-Chinese which offered them some limited and unspecified form of self-government while conceding to French occupation and exploitation. The guerrilla fighters of the Viet Nam Republic rejected this pact and took to the hills to prepare a last ditch struggle for full independence. It is against these heroic fighters that the French have been continuing their undeclared war for the past three months.

### REIGN OF TERROR

Viet Nam headquarters have charged, according to the May 27 Christian Science Monitor, that the French are conducting a reign of terror, massacring and machine-gunning civilians from the air, pillaging and burning defenseless villages.

The territory now in question originally belonged to Siam. It was seized by the French imperialists, but during the war Siam regained it from the Vichy government.

Siamese hospitality to retreating Viet Nam troops is based upon the recognition that the two colonial peoples have a common stake in the struggle against imperialism. Siamese Prime Minister Pridi Phanamojong, according to the May 28 Christian Science Monitor, declared early this month:

"France today is trying to return to her colonial glory. She is convinced she can do it, and she is certainly trying hard enough. She wants the immediate return of four provinces we got back in 1941. We are still talking about the whole thing in Saigon, through a preparatory peace mission which we sent to Indo-China early in April. Apparently the French prefer bullets to words. They talk louder."

The French capitalists have received a green light from Wall Street in their drive to re-establish their empire. Early this year the U.S. State Department announced that it would refuse to recognize Siamese sovereignty over territory recovered during the war.

## Annamese Battlers for Freedom



The fate of these heroic warriors against French imperialism is unknown. They were captured at the beginning of the undeclared war upon Indo-China. The French militarists customarily line up guerrilla fighters such as these against a wall and execute them.

06-15-2

# LEFT JABS



## Do As I Say, Not As I Do

Last week, G. Blair Gordon, retiring president of the Canadian Manufacturers Association delivered a long speech on employee-employer relationships to the 75th annual meeting of that body.

Gordon, who is also president of Dominion Textiles, instructed his fellow business tycoons to respect the right of employees to associate freely for all lawful purposes and bargain collectively, in cases where representatives have been freely chosen by a majority of the employees affected, on wages, hours of work, and working conditions. Successful functioning of industry, he explained, can only be assured by full and harmonious cooperation between employees and employers.

While Gordon was passing on this kindly advice 6,000 workers struck five mills of Dominion Textiles and Montreal Cottons. Gordon is president of both companies. The strike brought to a dramatic conclusion three years of painful and patient attempts by the United Textile Workers AFL to meet and negotiate a contract with the above G. Blair Gordon.

## Who Betrays Who?

# TORONTO GOES OVER TOP WITH 100 PER CENT; ONLY ONE MONTH TO GO IN SPECIAL SUB DRIVE

By DAVID WILLIAMS

The highlight of the campaign for 1,000 new subs before July 16 was the recent journey (by thumb, of course) of two Toronto comrades to Cornwall, Ontario, scene of the most militant demonstrations of the striking seamen. Armed with copies of Labor Challenge for distribution on the picket line, Joe and Hugh set out in a driving rainstorm, on the 250 mile trip.

The reception Labor Challenge received is attested to by the fact that they returned with 36 new subs. Hugh Allen reports: "The paper was remarkably well received both on the picket line and in a house to house canvass which was made. Only the fact that we had a very short time to stay prevented us from rolling up a larger number of subs, as the whole city has been aroused by the strike of the seamen." This first venture of this type has inspired Toronto comrades to lay plans for the future for many more excursions to other towns.

At the same time other Toronto activists were far from idle. On a Saturday afternoon mobilization in a working class district in Toronto 41 new subs were obtained via a house to house canvass. These inspiring efforts enabled Toronto to exceed its quota one month ahead of schedule with a total of 452 new subs.

The overall picture of the campaign shows more progress but has not yet taken up the slack of a very slow start. With 66 per cent of the time elapsed only 57 per cent of the subs have been obtained. Montreal, Vancouver and Windsor are lagging far behind the pace

## SCOREBOARD

	Quota	Subs	Per Cent
Toronto .....	450	452	100
Miscellaneous .....	50	31	62
Prairies .....	25	13	52
Prince Rupert .....	50	12	24
Vancouver .....	300	50	17
Windsor .....	25	4	16
Montreal .....	75	10	13
Total .....	1,000	572	57

## PACESETTERS

Name	Place	Subscriptions
Joe Rose .....	Toronto .....	68
H. Allen .....	Toronto .....	52
R. Dawson .....	Toronto .....	44
H. Small .....	Toronto .....	42
S. Rose .....	Toronto .....	34
Norma Roberts .....	Toronto .....	30
Jerry Gordon .....	Toronto .....	26

necessary to achieve their quota. One Vancouver comrade writes, "Paper is well received and practically every call results in a sub. Time is the only factor we don't seem to have enough of, but we are convinced Vancouver will go over the top."

The pacemakers column shows a very close contest for the prize, a copy of Leon Trotsky's biography of "Stalin". Joe Rose, in seventh place last issue in the new leader with a sensational jump from nineteen to fifty-nine new

subs. However, everyone shown on the board and some not included are very close behind and it looks like a race right down to the last day. Toronto still dominates the field among the pacemakers. What about a little competition from other centers?

On the basis of their success so far in the campaign, Toronto has set itself a new objective of seven hundred new subs, by July 16, the date when the special offer of a six month subscription for 25 cents expires.

06-15<sup>th</sup>-3

# LABOR CHALLENGE

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## AUTO AND RUBBER JOIN STRIKE WAVE

### Sailor's Strike Wins 8-Hr. Day on Lakes

By ROSS POWSON

\* On Monday June 24th the 26 day seamen's strike which had completely tied up Great Lakes shipping ended. The seamen returned to work only after winning their principle demand; the eight day, three watch system.

When the Federal government intervened in the dispute with the appointment of a controller of all Great Lakes shipping they granted this basic demand of the Canadian Seamen's Union TLC. The government did so with great reluctance. Labor Minister Mitchell confessed to the House of Commons that, "no thinking citizen can approve a twelve hour working day for any man."

#### TEN YEAR FIGHT

The eight hour day was not won by the grace of the Federal government. The seamen had been fighting for the eight hour day for 10 long years. At no other time in the history of the battle had the government disapproved of the 12 hour day. The eight hour day was won by the heroic fights waged by the seamen on a 2,000 mile front. It was won by their militant and courageous battle with the shipowners, their hired thugs, strikebreakers, and the Provincial and Federal police.

But even as the Stalinist leaders of the CSU scurried to get the boats back into operation, on the Saturday two days before the official government seizure, the shipowners under the protection of the government controller were once more attempting to smash the union. On Saturday, Conrad Sauras, CSU Montreal business agent, was arrested and remanded without bail. On Monday union officials charged the Canadian Steamship Lines and other companies with hiring scabs and sailing ships without full crews. At the Lakehead some shipowners refused to hire union seamen and fired union men whom they had formerly employed.

#### LEADERSHIP DIDN'T WANT STRIKE

This strike which was thrust upon the CSU leadership by the Canadian Steamship Lines lockout in Montreal has been an embarrassment to them since the beginning. As it became more and more effective through the militancy and ingenuity of the membership, Sullivan and Ferguson screamed louder for government interference. The capitalist government showed its hand at this stage by police terrorism and the arrest of hundreds of seamen. In their hurry to get rid of the strike Sullivan and company whittled down their demands and finally dropped altogether the demand that all companies sign union contracts before they sail.

Despite the Stalinists' persist-

ent pleas that the government should take over the companies, the government did so only when the strike was at the peak of its power. Only a week previously the shipowners had been compelled to recognize the effectiveness of the strike and had tied up their remaining vessels. The moral of the youthful strikers was high and their struggles with the police and scabs had inspired the support of the entire working class. Even as Mitchell announced the appointment of a controller the Upper Lakes and St. Lawrence Transportation Company, sailing 27 ves-

sels, signed up with the union.

The government seizure and granting of the eight hour day saved the shipowners from having to make further concessions which would have been wrung from them had the strike continued and been reinforced by other strikes which have been looming on the horizon for several weeks. The order in council permitting the seizure left outside of the controller's authority all passenger ships as the government considered in the face of

(Continued on page three)

#### THE SOVIET UNION SWEEP BY PURGE

The press of the Soviet Union announced on June 26, a country-wide purge of factory directors, engineers and accountants for faking production figures, receiving illegal bonuses, misappropriating funds and converting state property for their personal use.

This announcement followed the disclosure that the Soviet Republics of Crimean Tartars and Chencheng-Ingush had been deprived of their autonomy and reduced to the status of provinces. An undisclosed number of the inhabitants of these areas have been deported and "resettled in other districts of the Soviet Union." It has been estimated that these forced deportations involve over a million persons.

#### Seamen Win 8-Hour Day

(Continued from page one)

Sullivan's willingness to capitulate that this "would be an unnecessary concession to the union."

While the false policy of the Stalinists liquidated many gains which could have been won, the militancy and overwhelming power of the seamen brought a great victory the winning of the eight hour day. Already the union is faced with the threat of wide-spread attacks and discrimination against its membership. The next step, union contracts, and hiring halls, will be won only as long as the union is prepared to buck not only the shipowners but "their government" and its appointed controller.



#### Strengthen Labor's Wage and Hour Campaign; Steelworkers and U.E. Set Strike Deadlines for Early July

Over 10,000 rubber workers and 5,000 auto workers have come out on strike to join the thousands of Quebec textile workers, New Toronto brass workers, Vancouver foundry workers, and Calgary iron workers striking for the 40-hour week and 25 cents an hour increase in pay. The

British Columbia loggers ended in a partial victory and as the Great Lakes seamen won their main demand of the eight hour day on freshwater and coastal shipping.

Rubber workers organized in the United Rubber Workers CIO—CCL walked off the job in 10 of Ontario's 13 large rubber plants on Monday, June 24, when it became apparent that they would get little or nothing from the report of the conciliator, Justice J.

C. A. Cameron. This was later confirmed when the report of the government-appointed conciliator was made public. Instead of the 20 per cent per hour increase demanded by the union, Cameron offered 8 cents per hour. This proposal was rejected by the union's strategy committee, a delegation

body from the union's 13 locals.

Of the three other locals not on strike it is expected that Kaufman's in Kitchener will join the strike now that the conciliator's report has been released. Viceroy

Anacinda American on strike with any for a 40-hour minimum wage had down the 1,400 in strike. Since the strike a token picket line has been maintained with the strikers still although as yet no strike vote has been taken in the local. The Dunlop local against the advice of the strategy committee has signed a new agreement for much less than the seven point program of the UDW.

To date the strike is 100 per cent effective and the rubber companies have not made any attempt to run

scabs in face of the strong picketing of the rubber union members.

The strike of 4,000 auto workers, members of the United Automobile Workers CIO-OCL, against the Chrysler Corporation in Windsor and Chatham is going into its third week. Last week 400 workers in the Windsor plant of Cam-

(Continued on page two)

07-01-57

# LABOR CHALLENGE

VOL. II, No. 12 (19)

TORONTO, ONT., MID-JULY, 1946

PRICE: 5 Cents

## STEELWORKERS DEFY GOVT AND BOSSES

### Strike Roundup

#### ubber Auto Brass till Hold Solid; I.E. Comes Out

Strikers, now over 50,000 strong in almost every basic industry the Dominion, are battling it out on the picket lines in an attempt to break through the wage maul of the King government which calls for a maximum 10-cent hour boost in pay. Basic steel, coal mining, rubber, auto, electrical, and textile workers on picket lines from coast to coast have an answer to the proposals of Mitchell, federal labor master.

In a letter to Pat Conroy, secretary-treasurer of the Canadian Congress of Labor, which Mitchell read in Parliament, July 10, Mitchell test: "Again it is the considered view of those best able impartially to assess the present economic situation in Canada that increases in wages beyond 10 cents an hour and in some instances less force a break in the price ring." Thus the government itself up with the unacceptable offers of the parasitic owners of Canadian industry. It revealed in the battle of the workers against the effects of inflation for higher wages and shorter hours it is on the side of the bosses in their most important agency fighting the workers.

The long-awaited steel strike in three basic steel plants naturally holds the centre of the stage in the struggle of the Canadian workers. But over 35,000 workers electrical, rubber, auto, mining, are playing a very important role in labor's battle.

#### ELECTRICAL WORKERS JOIN STRIKE WAVE

last week some 7,200 electrical workers, 4,000 from Westinghouse Hamilton, over 2,000 from the amalgamated Electric and Canada and Cable in Toronto, and 6 from the Electro-metallurgical Company in Welland, preceded the workers on the picket lines, in the case of the steelworkers, so electrical workers, members of the United Electrical Workers OCL, had weeks ago over-



Part of the giant picket line which has stopped all movement in or out of the sprawling mill of the Steel Company of Canada at Hamilton. This picket line of United Steelworkers CIO-CCL members won a bloody battle at dawn Tuesday morning when it stopped a train leaving the plant.

## Purges Reveal Crisis In Soviet Economy

The sinister news that has periodically shocked the world working class once again comes from Moscow. Another purge is on. Like its predecessors, the new purge strikes at virtually every sphere of Soviet life.

Major branches of Soviet industry from the devastated Ukraine to the distant Urals are involved. Countless officials in the giant Russian Diesel Plant, Kirov Automobile Works, Ministry of Aviation, Novosibirsk Meat and Dairy Products Ministry, Sverdlovsk Coal Trust, etc., have been dismissed, fined or jailed. The sweeping nature of the purges is strikingly exemplified by the fact that they have already reached the recently created Council of Ministers. Min-

H. L. Vannikov, has been dismissed from his job along with numerous other government officials.

At the same time that Stalin's henchman Baksturov, secretary of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet, announced these postwar

purges, he was dismissed from his job along with numerous other government officials.

It is said in part; ". . . the Kremlin has never confronted a more critical situation at home and abroad than it does today . . .

"The economic crisis in the USSR resulting from the war is so grave that it threatens to pass into a political and social crisis of the regime . . .

"It remains to be seen whether the current "left" turn will likewise be accompanied by a large purge. There would be nothing surprising in it, for Stalin, the Kremlin Nero, is the greatest devourer of his own agents . . ."

Copies of this informative monthly can be obtained from Labor Challenge, 87 King St. West, Room 5, Toronto 1. Individual copies, 30 cents, \$2.75 for one year subscription.

## CALL THE TURN ON NEW PURGE

As long ago as last March the American Trotskyist magazine FOURTH INTERNATIONAL in a long editorial entitled The Stalinist "Left Turn" and the Internal Crisis of the Kremlin Regime, called the turn on the current purges in the Soviet Union.

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Copies of this informative

## FOUNDRY WORKERS KEEP FIGHTING

Meanwhile the strike of 500 members of the Metal and Chemical Workers Union, Local 289 IUMM&SW, against some 30 foundries in the Vancouver area is going into its third month. In spite of the fact that Local 289 had already signed with four companies for a 15-cent per hour increase, the AFL Moulders Union, who had been respecting Local 289's picket lines, signed an agreement for a 10-cent increase with 13 shops and ordered its members back to work on July 8th. Other AFL locals such as the Machinists are refusing to pass picket lines.

The acceptance of 10 cents in this case by the AFL Moulders who represent some 300 men is the rankest kind of strikebreaking. The AFL Moulders are setting the pattern for future wage increases in line with the Dominion Government's policy of only 10 cents.

As this is written only a handful of Moulders have taken advantage of strong police protection to cross the picket lines of the Metal and Chemical Workers.

## HAMILTON KEY TO VICTORY

The storm centre of the strike, the Hamilton plant of the profit-bloated Steel Company of Canada, was struck shortly before the deadline. On Sunday at a monster rally, 2,000 workers decided to set up the picket lines and marched on the plant reinforced by hundreds of striking electrical, rubber and typographical workers. Mass picket lines block all entrance to the plant. Included in their ranks are many women and union sympathizers who have helped cut off in the plant the as yet undetermined number of scabs who are making a pretense of maintaining production.

In the past few months while the USA-CIO leaders were stalling strike action, carrying on futile negotiations and offering to settle for a 44-hour week at \$33.60, which constituted almost a 40 per cent cut in union demands, Stelco was conducting a vicious anti-union campaign and stocking and preparing the plant for a long siege. But the mass picket lines and militancy of the strikers is daily bringing more and more workers out of the plant and into their ranks.

(Continued on page 4)

→ TO P. 2

# STEELWORKERS DEFY GOVT IN FIGHT FOR 19½ CENT RAISE

(Continued from page 1)

C. H. Millard, Canadian USA-CIO director and prominent CCF'er, made a second offer to scrap the union's 40-hour \$33.60 demand with instalment plan increases. This compromise was also rejected by Stelco which is spearheading the steel bosses' attempt to smash the unions. As the long postponed strike date approached and the steelworkers showed they meant business, the government interceded on behalf of the bosses with the seizure of the steel plants and the appointment of a government controller.

## NATURE OF GOVT SEIZURES

Labor Challenge has consistently warned against and opposed government interference in labor's battles. During the powerful Ford strike and the militant Seamen's strike, when Stalinist leaders Tim Buck and Pat Sullivan and CCF leaders Coldwell and Millard were screaming for government seizure, we alone pointed out what this would mean. We claimed what even Pat Conroy, secretary of the CCL, is now compelled to admit: "The effect is that employers were not able to beat the workers so the government is stepping in to do the job for the employers and having done so will then formally hand back the industry to the employers." The government, which is only one part of the state apparatus, can only function in the in-

terest of the ruling-class, the capitalists.

When the government did seize the steel plants and the controller repeated the bosses' 10-cent offer, these "labor leaders" were either silent or claimed that this was a "fake" seizure. The workers were not taken in by the seizure and struck against the government.

The Hamilton strike is the decisive sector of the whole steel battle, and to a large extent its fate will determine the fate of the many deadlocked strikes in rubber, electric, etc. The steelworkers with their great numbers and strategic position in Canadian industry, can break through the Mitchell 10-cent an hour wage formula and once more lead the Canadian workers back to the original CCL 40-hour week, \$2.00 a day demand. Stelco, fat with profits from the second imperialist world war, is out to defeat the CCL wage demands and smash the steelworkers union. The union leaders have predicted that the strike will be a long and hard one. But labor has greater power and greater strength than all the blood-soaked wealth of Canadian capitalism. Over 40,000 unionists in steel fabricating plants across Canada are waiting the call of their primary steel comrades. Spread the steel strike to the fabricating plants. The organized might of Canadian labor can smash the Mitchell formula and win the 40-hour week and \$2.00 wage increase for all the workers.

## Our Program:

### 1. Full Employment and Job Security For All Workers and Veterans!

\* A rising scale of wages! Increased wages to meet the increased cost of living!  
A sliding scale of hours! Reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay!  
Operate all government-built and idle plants under workers' control!!  
Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages during the entire period of unemployment!

### 2. Organization of The War Veterans by The Trade Unions!

### 3. Against any and all forms of racial prejudice or national oppression!

Full democratic rights for the French Canadians!

### 4. Tax the rich not the poor!

No taxes in incomes under \$3,000 a year! Confiscate all War Profits!

### 5. Independent working class political action!

Establish the workers' and farmers' government!

### 6. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!

For the complete independence of the colonial people!  
Withdraw all Canadian troops from foreign soil!

07-15<sup>th</sup> 1b

# END OF OPA AND DOLLAR PARITY MEAN HIGHER PRICES IN CANADA

By PAUL KANE

The death of the Office of Price Administration (OPA) on June 30 in the United States removed the last flimsy barrier to Wall Street's inflationary assault on the American people. While Canadians watched prices south of the border spiral to new heights, the cost of many foods double, and rents skyrocket, their own standard of living suffered staggering blows.

Price ceilings in Canada, even now riddled to a sieve, were in effect lifted 10 per cent all along the line by the government. Many millions of dollars in the form of increased subsidy bills were added onto the workers' and farmers' burdensome tax bill.

The government's fake price regulations and price boards have already permitted Big Business to siphon millions of dollars from the workers. George Burt, Canadian director of the UAW-CIO, in a speech at Windsor last week revealed that food costs there had risen 50 per cent since 1939 and that the general cost of living was up over 35 per cent. These figures based on a WEBA survey give the lie to the official government figure of only 26 per cent.

## DOLLAR PARITY INCREASES BOSSSES' PROFITS

The inflationary rise in the United States which has been steadily accumulating since V-J Day, will force the cost of living in Canada still higher. This week in order to counteract its immediate repercussions on Canadian prices, Ottawa passed some important legislation. This legislation, which raised the Canadian dollar to par value

with the American dollar and guaranteed the continuance of subsidies to Big Business, received scant attention from the labor leaders. Canadian business welcomed the plan except for the grumblings of a few gold mining moguls and big newspaper exporters. But even their complaints were silenced by the promise of subsidies to enable them to make up the 10 per cent exchange profit that they had made on the U.S. dollar.

Big Business imported from the U.S. in 1941 goods valued at the sum of \$1,004,498,152. These imports were equal almost one half the net value of Canadian manufactured production, including pulp and paper, which amount to \$2,605,119,788 for the same year. The government's gift of dollar parity which was supposedly brought about to counteract the effect of American price increases, on Canadian prices will line the pockets of Big Business. These vast imports will be payed for by Bay and St. James Streets with 10 per cent less funds now that the exchange differences between the two currencies are wiped out. While Big

(Continued on page 3)

## DEATH OF OPA MEANS PRICE RISE

(Continued from page 1)

business gets this 10 per cent shot in the arm the old price ceilings will be gradually lifted higher to permit greater profiteering.

In many cases the 10 per cent exchange gain will be eaten up by the U.S. price rise. Aware of this possibility the King government guaranteed profits to Canadian capitalism by promising bigger subsidies than ever before. In the year 1945-46, \$100,000,000 was paid out to the bosses in the form of subsidies. While the government has removed the subsidies on several important items such as milk and permitted large price increases it is estimated that next year's bill for this behind the back form inflation will be higher than last year's.

The government has no program to maintain the price ceilings or to inflation which is rooted in a profit system which it upholds. It is desperately trying to maintain the myth of price control, however, only in order to give legal sanction to the inflationary wave that is sweeping across the country, and to keep the wage freeze. But as fees continue to mount the Canadian workers are rapidly becoming conscious of this fiction of price control. Many unions that recently made small wage settlements are being compelled by the profiteering of big business to consider reopening their wage clauses. Many thousand more workers threaten to join the battle that their 50,000 comrades are now waging on the picket lines for wage increases.

## TA-TU-THAU REPORTED DEAD IN INDO-CHINA

PARIS, FRANCE.—News from Indo-China confirms the death of Ta-Tu-Thau, founder and outstanding leader of the Indo-Chinese Trotskyist movement, in the course of the Viet-Nam uprising against French colonialism. Ta-Tu-Thau died in the province of Quang-Ngai, in Southern Cochinchina.

He joined the Trotskyist movement in 1930 and in 1933 was elected to the Municipal Council of Saigon as a Trotskyist. Most of the time since then he spent in the prisons of French imperialism. In 1938, as a result of under-nourishment and torture, he was struck with partial paralysis while in prison.

### ARRESTED BY BRITISH

At the beginning of 1939, on the eve of the war, he sought to escape, was caught by the British police and turned over to the French, who confined him to the living hell known as the Poulo-Condor concentration camp.

Liberated after the Japanese defeat, he was too debilitated to participate in more than an advisory capacity in the ensuing insurrection, and shortly after succumbed.

The Fourth International has lost in Ta-Tu-Thau one of its best militants. His courage, his firmness and his tenacity, which inspired respect even among our enemies, will be a living example for Trotskyists everywhere.

0715-2

## Toronto Readers are Invited to Attend— A BASKET PICNIC

Sunday, July 28, 1946, at 3 p.m.

AT HIGH PARK  
(JUST SOUTH OF CARLTON CAR LOOP)

Auspices

Toronto Friends of Labor Challenge  
HOT BEVERAGE SUPPLIED — GAMES

# LABOR CHALLENGE

VOL. II., No. 13 (20)

TORONTO, ONT., AUGUST, 1946

23

PRICE: 5 Cents

08/01/71a

## SPREAD STRIKE TO ALL STEEL TO WIN

### New Pickets Hit Province Injunction Shipbuilders Gain

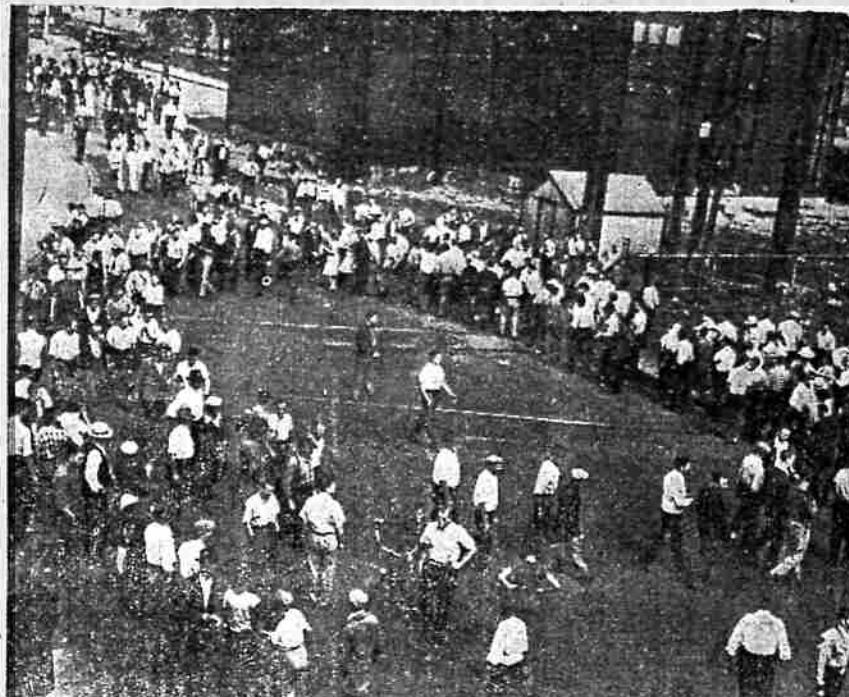
VANCOUVER.—In a magnificent display of labor solidarity members of Canadian Congress of Labor unions along with members of unions affiliated with the Trades and Labor Congress have replaced members of the International Typographical Union picketing the struck Vancouver Daily Province Building. The ITU, which struck The Province on June 5, had effectively prevented this Southam owned paper from appearing until the first of last week when under the protection of an injunction restraining the ITU from picketing, the paper was printed by scab labor.

The ITU strike against The Province is part of the strike of ITU members against the Southam newspaper chain in Winnipeg, Ottawa, Hamilton and Edmonton which is spearheading the attack of the Canadian capitalist press against the printing trades' unions. This fight began in Winnipeg where Southam's have smashed the ITU in *The Tribune*.

The struggle against the union busting Southam Company reached a dramatic peak when on Tuesday, July 23, sympathy pickets overturned a truckload of scab papers outside the shop which later caught fire. The militancy of the sympathy pickets, seven of whom have been arrested, has aroused the powerful B.C. labor movement to action. Pressure by aroused rank and file trade unionists is making it more difficult for the conservative craft trade union leaders to continue to ignore this strike and to let their unions pass the picket lines. The Province strike has not only given the workers another lesson in the importance and effectiveness of working class solidarity but has shown the only way injunctions can be broken—by militant mass action.

### SHIPYARD WORKERS PREPARE FOR ACTION

The Marine Workers and Boatmakers Industrial Union CCL, after two apparently easy victories in the wooden boat yards and steel fabricating plants in this area in which management second



Picket circle before the main gate of the Hamilton plant of the Steel Company of Canada. This line aided by striking rubber and electrical and over 1,200 steel workers from International Harvester was respected by trainmen who refused to bring in supplies for over 1,000 scabs in the plant.

## PARIS "PEACE" CONFERENCE IS STEP TO WORLD WAR III

By RALPH GRAHAM

On July 29 representatives of the governments of 21 nations are due to meet in Paris to pass on "peace treaties" to be concluded by the victorious Allied powers with Italy, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Finland, the defeated satellites of German imperialism. Although designated as a "peace conference," the Paris gathering will prove to be nothing else but a fresh

negotiations for a third world war, in the same way that the Versailles

the imperialist "peace-makers" and the Kremlin gang.

Meetings of the "Big Four," preceding the Paris gathering on July 29, were marked by continuous struggle between the Anglo-American imperialists and the Kremlin representatives both over the division of the spoils of war and the extension of the

### Trainmen's Solidarity Shows Way In Hamilton; Dosco, Algoma Solid

By ROSS DOWSON

The ranks of the 15,000 steelworkers in Sault Ste. Marie, Hamilton and Sydney hold firm in the third week of a strike that has tied up all primary steel production in Canada. The sprawling Dominion Steel and Coal plant at Sydney, N.S., and the Algoma Steel plant at Sault Ste. Marie are at a complete standstill and all is quiet. But Hamilton, home of the profit-bloated Steel Company of Canada, has been the scene of mass picket lines, rallies and heroic struggles with the government, the police, the bosses and scabs.

In the early dawn of July 17, over 300 of the scabs that have been cut off in the strikebound Stelco plant by mass picket lines poured out of the gates armed with pick-handles, rocks and pipe. They were out to smash the high morale of the thousands that have continued to encircle the plant with a ring of steel and to haul several freight cars of badly needed material into the plant. The picket line held firm and battled the scabs back into the plant.

Another week passed by and the plant remained shut off from the outside world. The company which has been attempting to maintain production with its scab crews was compelled to try once more to smash the blockade, to intimidate the strikers and replenish its dwindling stock piles.

### RAILROAD WORKERS' SOLIDARITY

On July 25, Stelco tried to run the picket line with 25 freight cars loaded with lime and scrap iron. Over 200 Hamilton police cleared the way by pushing back the workers ranks which had been reinforced by hundreds of striking electrical and rubber workers. But the Stelco plan backfired.

Answering the hurried call of the Stelco workers 1,200 organized steelworkers at International Harvester left their benches and marched down the street to swell the picket line. This militant demonstration of solidarity which reflects only in a small way the seething militant mood of the

# LABOR CHALLENGE Vol. II No. 13

AUG. 1946

Page 2

Hamilton working class was not required however to maintain an unbroken picket line. As the supply train approached the entrance to the plant the CNR trainmen cried out to the waiting and alert pickets that "We are not taking this train through those police and picket lines" and they reversed the train.

In the hour of crisis the railwaymen and the International Harvester workers broke through the timid policies that have characterized the actions of the union leadership since the inception of the strike. C. H. Millard, national steel director, some weeks before

(Continued on page 3)

08-01-16

## STEEL STRIKE

(Continued from page 1)

the strike offered to settle for a 44-hour week at \$33.60. A short while later he offered to settle for instalment plan increases and before the parliamentary labor committee offered to compromise the original demands for a 15 cent increase and even include in the contract some of the infamous company security clauses of the Rand formula.

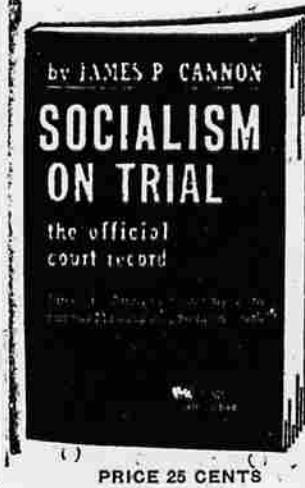
### STELCO OUT TO SMASH THE UNION

The power-drink and profit-bloated Steel bosses have made it clear by their testimony before the parliamentary committee and their ruthless attempts to smash the union ranks that they will make no settlement that is favorable to the union except under the greatest pressure from the workers. Millard and company in the face of the arrogance of the Steel barons know of no other means of settlement than to water down the original demands of the union which with the continual rise in the cost of living are proving to have been if anything too modest. But there is another way: and

that is to follow the lead of the Harvester workers, to follow the lead of the 800 workers of Canadian Tube and Steel, who have joined the Sydney strikers by striking this important Dosco subsidiary in Montreal.

Stelco, Dosco, and Algoma, the big three primary steel producers own and control scores of the steel fabricating plants that are stretched across Canada. It is the fabricating plants, many of which are organized by USA-CIO which are the greatest source of profit of these giant monopolies. The extension of the strike to these key sections of the steel empire would rapidly bring these arrogant monopolists to their knees.

The attempt by Stelco to maintain production in the Hamilton plant which at this stage contains a threat to the success of the strike will be rendered a futile gesture by the spreading of the strike. The unity of the Hamilton workers saved the strike from defeat. The spreading of the strike to the fabricating plants will win it.



08-01-2 X

## TROTSKYISTS SPUR ON FIGHT FOR THE FREEDOM OF EGYPT

CAIRO, July 10.—While the Egyptian government is carrying on protracted negotiations with the British, the workers, peasants and students are taking the struggle for independence onto the streets. In this the Egyptian Trotskyists are playing an increasing and leading role.

On February 9, the day on which the police fired on demonstrations in Cairo and Alexandria, killing 27, the Trotskyists in Cairo issued a leaflet calling on the students not to remain within the walls of the University but to join the capitalist districts and to go where the workers are. The leaflet concluded:

"Students and workers! Unite in the specter of reaction haunts the country. You students alone cannot overcome the police. Go to the workers and you will find enough power to meet the police. Without a swift link with the workers our Revolution will lose its popular basis. Don't appear before the Royal Palace but to the factories, to the workers, the true representatives of the people and thus encourage them to continue their heroic deeds."

This call met with immediate response, the students making the slogan, "Towards the workers" their own. In Alexandria 3,000 students marched to the workers' districts where they were joined by 30,000 workers from textile factories.

The police, estimating the danger of such united action, fired, killing two workers and three students, and injuring 30. The Prime Minister, replying to a question in Parliament, justified the shooting of the students by saying:

"Do you know what happened in Alex? Three thousand students went where the textile factories are and if the police did not take exceptional measures our whole history would have been changed."

On the same day the police, infuriated by the activities of the Trotskyists, made a city-wide search, arresting three students and a worker who were distributing leaflets.

In Cairo also the students succeeded in joining forces with the workers and creating a Joint Committee of Students and Workers in which the Trotskyists are active. It marked the beginning of a new era in the history of our movement in Egypt.

As the Trotskyist journal in Egypt is banned, it has been decided to continue with the issue of leaflets. The second leaflet accused the King of responsibility for the death of those who were shot by the police:

"Students and workers, this is the most evident case that capitalism and imperialism are our most deadly enemies. The King and his degenerated class know that their days have gone and want to keep you down by force, but they will never do so. You are bold enough and in the end you and the workers will be victorious."

### CLARION CALL

While the Egyptian ruling class and the representatives of British imperialism continue to bargain behind closed doors, the demonstrations on the street go on unabated.

The slogan, "Long Live Workers and Students" has become the clarion call of the toilers and the intellectuals and even of the little children in the streets. The toiling classes now clearly know that the coming revolution will be a proletarian revolution and not a capitalist revolution. The revolution has been abandoned by the nationalist capitalists.

In the streets only students and workers lead the demonstrations. On the walls of Cairo and Alexandria you can read in English and Arabic "Join the Revolutionary Communist Party" (Middle East Section, Fourth International). The activities of the Trotskyists are gaining them new adherents every day. Their increased prestige and leadership in the struggle of the workers and students is the best guarantee of final victory.

# LABOR CHALLENGE

VOL II, No. 14 (21)

TORONTO, ONT., MID-AUGUST, 1946

23

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## Tear Gas Attacks Fail; Que. Textile Strikers Hold Firm

MONTREAL, Aug. 14.—Yesterday 2,000 striking members of the United Textile Workers AFL fought back the third tear gas attack of Quebec provincial police in Valleyfield to end for the moment the attempt of the Montreal Cottons Limited to operate with scab labor.

Some 3,000 workers in the Montreal Cottons in Valleyfield walked out on June 1 along with another 3,000 textile workers in Dominion Textiles in Montreal in a strike for wage increases and shorter hours. Both companies are part of Blair Gordon's textile trust. After two months of picketing which finally forced the company to make concessions to Local 102 in Montreal the strike at Dominion Textiles was ended with the union winning a partial victory including wage increases of from 7-11 cents per hour.

The company has treacherously refused to live up to its undertaking to negotiate with the Valleyfield local and has instead attempted to smash the strike there by force. Throughout these strikes the company aided by the government has used every means to smash the morale of the workers to no avail. Prior to the strike the company had declared they would never negotiate with the UTW and launched a red-baiting campaign against the Stalinist leaders of the Union Kent Rowley and Madelaine Parent. Provincial Labor Minister Barrette came to the aid of the company by declaring the Valleyfield strike illegal because the union had never been certified. Rowley and Parent were excluded from the negotiations which settled the Dominion Textile strike.

The Valleyfield strikers are determined to win at least as good a settlement as that won in Montreal. After their militant picket line victory against the provincial police and company thugs the spirit of these fighting French-Canadian textile workers has reached a new high.

Unfortunately, however, here too we have the spectacle of the workers' struggles being weakened by treacherous labor bureaucrats. One of those to replace Parent and Rowley in negotiations was

## DEMAND GROWS TO SPREAD STRIKE TO ALL STEEL AS DANGER THREATENS

### THE UNINVITED GUEST



## CCF Delegate from B.C. Issues Call for Revolutionary Program

Comrade Chairman and Comrades:

The Ninth Annual Convention of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation is meeting in a period when the crisis of world society has reached unprecedented depth. Edifice

A Letter from Delegate Whalen

### Toronto Area Council USA-CIO Urges General Strike; Stelco Ships Steel

Last week 15,000 steel fabricating workers, through their representative body the Toronto Area Council, called upon C. H. Millard, USA-CIO National Director, to spread the steel strike to all fabricating plants in Canada and reinforce the 15,000 steelworkers who have been locked in battle with the "Big Three" primary steel producers for over 30 days. At the same time as they urged Millard to throw their fresh and powerful forces into the struggle with the profit-hungry steel barons they issued a call in a telegram to President A. R. Mosher for a general strike of the 250,000 members of the Canadian Congress of Labor.

On the same night, August 8th, the Montreal Labor Council joined the Toronto steelworkers to demand that Mosher call a one day sympathy strike of all CCL unions in the area already have joint employer-union applications before the Board for 15 cent raises.

VANCOUVER.—The annual convention of the B.C. Federation of Labor CCL, held here on August 10, 11 and 12, passed a resolution calling for the resignation of all labor representatives from the National and Regional War Labor Boards as an indication of lack of confidence and a step towards their abolition. This progressive resolution was passed against the advice of Alex. McAulane, vice-president of the Canadian Congress of Labor.

The Labor Progressive Party machine which dominated the convention pushed through a resolution on political action, in the closing minutes, which completely ignored the CCL's endorsement of the CCF as "the political arm of labor." This resolution called for the "utmost farmer-labor political unity behind a common program—designed to support farmer-labor

### ROLE OF PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE

The Canadian workers are threatening to break through the limitations of struggle that their leaders have set for them. The demand to extend the strike to the steel fabricating plants spreads. But while the workers call for the extension of the strike their leaders continue to haunt corridors at Ottawa and participate in the Parliamentary Committee of Industrial Relations. The sole purpose of this committee is to stall, to drag out the strike, to manufacture public opinion and bring the entire forces of the capitalist government to bear against the steel-

# Trotsky's Struggle for The 4th International

All of Leon Trotsky's teachings are concentrated in the major task of his lifetime's activity—the building of the Fourth International.

For an entire decade—1923-1933—he struggled to reform the Third International, which he had founded together with Lenin. When Stalin paved the way for Hitler's rise to power in Germany; when this betrayal passed over the heads of the completely degenerated Stalinized parties, history itself proved that the Third International was beyond reform. It died ignominiously as had the Second International before it. What died with these old Internationals was not revolutionary Marxism but two virtually duplicate sets of false ideas and practices—nationalism, opportunism, reformism. In brief, petty-bourgeois adaptation to capitalism and capitulation to it. A new International became necessary. As Trotsky tirelessly repeated, this was—and is—the basic task of our epoch. It was to this task that he devoted his best energies and the last years of his life.

For Trotsky, the building of the Fourth International was least of all a question of abstract theory or of an "organizational form". Trotsky saw that the world party of the working class is first of all a closely knit system of ideas, that is to say, a program. On no other basis is it possible to train, temper and fuse the proletarian vanguard internationally and nationally. From the given system of ideas—or program—flows a corresponding system of strategic, tactical and organizational methods. The latter have no independent meaning or existence of their own and are subordinate to the former.

## PROGRAM MAKES THE PARTY

One of Trotsky's favourite sayings was: "It is not the party that makes the program; it is the program that makes the party."

Precisely because of this primary stress on program, Trotsky's decade of struggle to reform the Third International became in the most direct sense the preparation for the Fourth International.

This approach obviously invests ideas with extraordinary importance. Indeed we can say without fear of exaggeration that none attach greater significance to ideas than do the revolutionary Marxists. Like Marx, Engels, and Lenin, Trotsky regarded ideas as the greatest power on earth.

Lenin's Bolshevik party valued its ideas as its most potent weapon. Bolshevism demonstrated in action, in 1917, that such ideas once embraced by the masses, become converted into an insuperable material force.

## TROTSKY CARRIED ON LENIN'S WORK

Trotsky's ideas derive their power from the same source as Lenin's; both are the correct expression of the struggle of living forces, first and foremost the liberationist struggle of the proletariat. They represent not only the product of profound theoretical analysis but also the unassailable deductions from the march of history for the last hundred years.

Like Lenin, Trotsky rejected the notion that the policies of opportunist tendencies represent merely mistakes in "theory". Theory is scarcely involved in the policy of the treacherous "Socialists" who each time base themselves on the current needs of propping up the rule of decaying capitalism. Theory has even less to do with the Kremlin's policy which is each time determined by practical needs of safeguarding the privileges and power of the ruling clique. Fear of the proletarian revolution has long ago converted both the moribund Second and Third Internationals into agencies of world imperialism. Hence flows the necessity of an irreconcilable attitude toward them. For the first condition for unifying the workers is a complete break with all the agencies, direct and indirect, of the bourgeoisie.

## INTERNATIONALISM BASIC PLANK

The basic plank of a revolutionary program is internationalism. A mere acceptance of internationalism is hollow mockery unless accompanied in practice by complete rejection of nationalist policies. It was precisely against the nationalist deviations of the Soviet bureaucracy, most crassly expressed by Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country," that Trotsky launched his life and death struggle against Stalinism. It was in the course of that seventeen years struggle that Trotsky, in defending Marxism, in rescuing the ideas of Lenin from Stalinist falsification, made his greatest contribution to the science of the proletarian revolution.

He and he alone, traced the degeneration of the Soviet State from its earliest bureaucratic manifestations until its present corruption. He taught the revolutionary workers of the world what to reject in this degenerated first workers' state as treachery to their class; what to defend in it as a conquest of the revolution of 1917 necessary to their further progress.

Trotsky alone analyzed the forces in German society that led to



## LEON TROTSKY

1879—1940

the defeat of the working class and the rise of fascism as a menace to the whole world proletariat. Trotsky exposed the nefarious role of Stalinism in China and in the course of his brilliant polemics developed the whole program of the colonial revolution by means of which the enslaved colonial masses will free themselves from imperialist oppression.

## AUTHOR OF TRANSITIONAL DEMANDS

He was first to recognize and outline the enormous predatory role of American imperialism and provide the masses of Europe with the rallying cry, The Socialist United States of Europe. Trotsky above everyone else, detected from the beginning the social elements leading to revolution in Spain and in France and provided the theoretical arms for the revolutionists in the ensuing struggles there. He pointed out every move in world politics leading to the inevitable outbreak of the second imperialist world war. To combat the degradations against the working class by means of which imperialism aimed to prepare itself for the new holocaust and to conduct the war for the shrinking markets, Trotsky hammered out the great program of Transitional Demands.

All of these tremendous contributions were crowned in the foundation of the Fourth International in September 1938. The Fourth International is Trotsky's legacy to the working class of the world. It is the continuation of the party of Lenin under the conditions of the world reaction that engulfed and destroyed his Bolshevik party in the Soviet Union. It is the instrument that is alone capable of overcoming this reaction and of extending to a world scale the October revolution which the Bolshevik party began in Russia in 1917.

Trotsky's greatness, his ability to see further, is concentrated above all in this crowning achievement. All of his criticism of social developments led to the inescapable conclusion; the conditions for proletarian revolution are ripe. The only element lacking is leadership—the tested party of the working class. It was to the building of this crucially imperative element that Trotsky particularly devoted his great brain and his almost superhuman energy in the whole last period of his life.

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## SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OF TROTSKY'S DEATH

Six years ago, Leon Trotsky, founder and leader of the Fourth International, was murdered by an assassin in the employ of Stalin. Through the slaying of Trotsky, Stalin not only destroyed the outstanding Bolshevik opponent of his counter-revolutionary regime, but world imperialism secured the removal from its path of the greatest revolutionary fighter against its Second World War.

On the evening of August 20, 1940, in Coyoacan, Mexico, an agent of Stalin's GPU fatally struck down Leon Trotsky, with a pick-axe blow to the brain. As he lay dying, the great Bolshevik leader branded for all time the perpetrator of this monstrous crime against the world working class: "I will not survive this attack. Stalin has finally accomplished the task he attempted unsuccessfully before."

### Proof of Stalin's Complicity

The hireling who committed the murder went under the various names of Jacques Monard and Frank Jacson. He had struck up an acquaintance in France with a young woman follower of the Trotskyist movement. Through her he had been introduced to Trotsky, and on one pretext or another, sought access to him in Mexico.

Pretending to seek advice on an article he had written, Monard or Jacson succeeded in obtaining an audience with Trotsky in his study. While the Bolshevik leader was turned, the assassin took a pick-axe which he had in his raincoat and plunged it into his victim's brain. Despite a terrible wound, Trotsky managed to grapple with assailant and cry for help.

Two guards rushed in and overpowered Jacson, while his fear cried out: "They made me do it. Otherwise, I would have killed my mother." "They" were the GPU, Stalin's police-murder apparatus. This was further confirmed by a prepared "confession" found on the assassin's person. It clearly was fabricated by the Kremlin's police agents. The assassin was also armed with a revolver and dagger.

The complicity of Stalin was shown by previous assassination attempts. On May 24 of the same year, a gang of Stalinist gunmen broke into Trotsky's home at night, machine-gunned his bedroom and kidnapped his young American secretary-guard, Sheldon Harte, whose slain body was found a few days later. Subsequently, most of the murder gang were rounded up, and a number of them made full confessions.

### Kremlin Protects Its Agents

The powerful arm of the Kremlin reached out to protect its agents. For six years, the leaders of the May 24 attack and Trotsky's assassin have escaped retribution. Jacson had the aid of the best legal talent Stalin could buy, and inexhaustible funds to fight his conviction. Little more than two years ago, he was finally sentenced to 20 years imprisonment—maximum penalty under Mexican law for premeditated murder.

On August 21, 1940, Trotsky died. His last words were an expression of supreme confidence that the workers would reach their historic socialist goal, and an exhortation to his followers to continue the great work for which he lived and died. He said: "I am close to death from the blow of a political assassin—Please say to our friends, I am sure of the victory of the Fourth International. Go forward!"

## 200 Stalinists Beat Trotskyist

Special to Labor Challenge

Toronto Readers are Invited to Attend a

## Trotsky Memorial Meeting

Wednesday, August 21, 1946, 8 p.m.

at 87 King Street West, Room 5

### 200 Stalinists

### Beat Trotskyist ✓

Special to Labor Challenge

NICE, France.—Albert Demaistre, member of the Central Committee of the International Communist Party (PCI), French section of the Fourth International, was horribly maimed and scarred by Stalinist goons at a PCI meeting here on July 12. Two hundred Stalinist hoodlums invaded the hall where the meeting was held and refused to permit the Trotskyist speakers to proceed. When Comrade Demaistre tried to speak to protest, a band of hoodlums leapt down upon him and broke up the meeting. The police, always ready to break up or prevent revolutionary meetings, were conspicuous by their absence.

The PCI is engaged in organizing a broad workers front for the defense of the right to free speech against the Stalinists.

08-15-26

## PIONEER CANADIAN SOCIALIST RWP CANDIDATE IN AUSTRALIA

Older workers throughout western Canada will recall Jack Kavanagh, as a fearless fighter and leader of the Canadian workers' struggles of a few decades ago, and they will be interested to hear that he is the candidate for West Sydney of the Revolutionary Workers Party in the coming Australian elections.

Jack Kavanagh is the chairman of the Central Committee of the RWP, and the first parliamentary candidate of the Australian Trotskyists in their history. Jack Kavanagh entered the socialist movement in this country back in 1903 and became President of the Vancouver Building Trades Council in 1912-13. He actively opposed the First World War and participated in the post-war movement for industrial unionism in Canada (OBU). During the trial of the leaders of the Winnipeg General Strike, Jack Kavanagh was sent to England to raise support for the strikers defense. He was one of the foundation members of the Communist Party in Canada.

In 1925, Jack Kavanagh went to Australia where he became organizer of the Sydney Trades and Labor Council in 1928-29. He was expelled from the Australian Communist Party in 1934 for "refusing to agree that Leon Trotsky was a counter-revolutionary", and he joined the Fourth International shortly after the outbreak of the Second World War.

The Militant, organ of the RWP, which announces the candidature



JACK KAVANAGH

of Kavanagh, states:

"The hopelessness of Labor reformism reveals itself completely against the blaze of the coming world crisis," says The Militant, warning the workers that they must turn to the socialist solution of their problems. "Only one policy, one program, one party offers any alternative to another holocaust and the obliteration of mankind . . . We offer you a program based not on war and exploitation, based not on starvation and slavery, but on the historic slogans of Liberty, Security and Peace."

## LABOR CHALLENGE

**Left Wing Breaks from CCF in B.C.; Demand New Party**

Special to Labor Challenge

VANCOUVER, Aug. 26.—At a conference called by the CCF Trade Union Committee here, yesterday, four well-known trade unionists broke from the CCF after denouncing the opportunist leadership and policy of the organization. Three of the four, Lloyd Whalen, Tom Bradley and R. W. Bullock were executive members of the CCF Trade Union Committee. Whalen and Bullock were also chairmen of local CCF Clubs. The other, R. New, was formerly secretary of the Hastings East CCF Club.

The break occurred after the presentation of a report of the recent CCF National Convention. Lloyd Whalen (Whalen's statement was published in the last issue of *Labor Challenge*) in the discussion that ensued, Whalen hit the contradictions and opportunism of the official policy of the CCF, pointing out the importance of internationalism and that international politics determine national policy and criticized the position of CCF on this field. He excised his remarks from the floor pointing out that he "would compromise his socialist principles by carrying out CCF policy," that under these circumstances it was necessary for him to break from the CCF. He concluded with appeal for the organization of working class party based on the basic principles of Marxism pledged to unrelenting persistance of the class struggle. He ed other workers who agreed him to join him in building a party.

Bradley, New and Bullock joined also in his criticism of CCF policies in general and in particular, condemning the fundamental concept of political

democracy. *That's what*

# SUPPORT GROWS TO SPREAD STRIKE AS POLICE THREATEN STEEL PICKET LINE

*Get Off That Money Bag!*



## The Revolutionary Workers' Party Must Be Founded - Now!

THE EDITORS

In our Mid-August issue, the editors of *Labor Challenge* printed the statement of Lloyd Whalen, a delegate from British Columbia to the Ninth CCF National Convention. Whalen's statement called for and outlined a revolutionary socialist program.

The statement of delegate Whalen on the key questions of program and his criticism of the CCF leadership is heartily endorsed by the editorial board of *Labor Challenge*. In the past 21 issues of our paper we have advocated just such a program and advanced practically the same criticisms of the CCF leaders. This program has found a growing response from our readers and the most advanced elements in the Canadian working class. This fact has been born out by the steady increase in influence and prestige of *Labor Challenge*. Around our paper and on the basis of its program of revolutionary socialism as applied to the key questions of the class struggle in this country and throughout the world have gathered the most advanced elements of the Canadian labor movement.

By means of our Marxist approach to the problems of the Canadian working people, *Labor Challenge* has been able to present the concrete steps tactics, which in every important struggle of the Canadian workers since its appearance in June 45, could have led to great victories. But it is not enough merely to have a correct program—to analyze the day to day struggles in the light of scientific socialism. It is necessary to build the indispensable weapon to carry out this program, ensure its victory. It is necessary to build the

revolutionary workers party.

Capitalism, as we have pointed out on numerous occasions, has been on the decline since before the First World War. Unable to solve any of the contradictions which are tearing it apart it is speeding to the atomic destruction of mankind in the Third World War—it has now entered the period of its death agony. After almost two decades of defeats, the workers have emerged from the most destructive war in the history of mankind to face with renewed confidence in their own powers a capitalist enemy whose rule is being shaken by insoluble contradictions and sharp class battles.

The leftward swing of the masses on a world scale is reflected in the growing struggles of the Canadian workers. These two facts must be the basis for any serious analysis of objective conditions.

But in the face of the favorable conditions for overthrow of the out-lived capitalist system, the two traditional parties of the workers continue their treacherous role responsible for the defeats suffered by the workers since 1923. The Second and Third Internationals died long ago as revolutionary factors but reformist socialism and Stalinism live on to canalize the revolutionary struggles of the masses into the blind alley of nationalism and class collaboration.

The Stalinist Labor Progressive Party, in spite of its pseudo-left turn, continues to call for a coalition with the "left-wing" of the bourgeoisie. The LPP in the service of Stalin's diplomacy spreads poisonous pacifist illusions among the masses in a futile attempt to stave off war against the Societ

**Veterans, Labor Unite Behind Steel-workers' Demands; Parleys Continuing**

BY ROSS DOWSON

This week the steel strike entered its crucial stage. Over 500 Dominion and Provincial police have been rushed in and are encamped within a stones throw of the sprawling strikebound Stelco plant. They are prepared to attempt the job that the local police tried but could not do—smash the strike. Held on leash by Attorney-General Blackwell,

who only awaits the signal from the Federal government, the police threaten to drown in blood the heroic steelworkers' strike which has paralyzed all basic steel production since July 15, and is gradually bringing Canadian industry to a halt.

But the federal government, a subservient tool of Stelco and the rest of Canadian monopoly capitalism, has withheld the signal for police action for two reasons: (1) the cowardly leaders of these militant workers have once again offered to further scale down and compromise the original union demands; (2) Big Business and the government fear the outcome of the battle which such action would provoke. The threat of police violence has roused the entire labor movement and threatens the capitalist class with a general strike from coast to coast.

### SUPPORT GROWS

The Nova Scotia Federation of Labor, representing over 30,000 workers, has urged the CCF leadership to call out all Congress affiliates in sympathy strike unless the police are immediately withdrawn from Hamilton. Over 240 delegates representing 40,000 Toronto unionists called on the CCL executive to instruct its member unions to stand by for general strike action if police provoke any incident at Stelco.

In Hamilton the 10,000 striking steel, rubber and electrical work-

→ to page 2

Union which is inevitable if capitalism continues. The feverish twists and turns in the policy of the Canadian Stalinists are dictated, not by the needs of the revolutionary struggle of the workers for socialism, which has been replaced by the LPP with the struggle for reforms, but by the demands of its master in the Kremlin.

Although the CCF appears organizationally independent of the capitalist parties, on all important questions it takes a "left-liberal" position, merely giving lip-service to socialism which is postponed to some indefinite future. It supports the thieves kitchen of UNO and has lined up with the Anglo-American imperialist anti-Soviet bloc. The CCF's defense of the "imperialist socialists" of the British Labor Party reveals its real role as an agency of capitalism in the ranks of the Canadian labor movement.

It is no accident that both these parties, the CCF and the LPP, betrayed every principle of international socialism and acted as recruiting agents to drive the masses into the Second Imperialist World War. And that in the trade unions they follow a policy of class collaboration. These two reformist parties act as a brake on the struggle of the working people for socialism. Democracy in the LPP is non-existent and in the CCF is tolerated, as in the "democratic" capitalist state, only in so far as it fails to threaten the control of the bases, in

→ Edit page 2

Edit, page 2 (RWP)

the case of the CCF, the right wing parliamentary leadership. No possibilities exist for the ranks to convert the bureaucratized CCF or LPP into instruments of socialist revolution.

World capitalism is rotten-ripe for socialist transformation. Only the lack of an independent revolutionary workers' party based on a correct program and with mass influence holds back the overthrow of capitalism in a number of countries today. The building of the vanguard party is our most pressing task. With such a party victory is assured; without it, fascism, war and atomic destruction are inevitable. This is the essence of the lessons of the history of world labor.

We have the program, it has already been hammered out and tested in the fires of international class struggle. It is the program of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, the program of the Fourth International which applied to the conditions of Canada is the program of Labor Challenge. The time has come to lift this stainless banner from the realm of propaganda into the world of action by founding the Canadian party of the Fourth International—the independent revolutionary workers' party which can lead the working people to victory.

Therefore, the editorial board of Labor Challenge, in consultation with the main supporting groups of our paper across the country, is taking immediate steps to call a representative conference of revolutionary socialists to found the new party as soon as possible.

September, 1946

**STEEL, page 2**

ers who together have encircled the Stelco plant with a mass picket line for over six weeks have been joined by fresh and determined forces. Hundreds of workers from several small steel fabricating plants, have joined their ranks in sympathy strike. National Steel Car and International Harvester threaten immediate support should the police go into action.

In the past week thousands of strikers reinforced by countless

(Continued on page 4)

**STEEL STRIKE**

(Continued from page 1)

sympathizers have staged monster demonstrations which have packed all approaches to the plant. On Monday night 10,000 demonstrated their strength and determination to win the strike. On Wednesday 3,000 strikers and sympathizers at the Stelco gates cheered 1,600 veterans who, marching in military formations and singing battle songs, joined the picket line. Approximately 800 veterans from the Army Trade School marched in the ranks with striking war veterans to demonstrate their solidarity with labor.

Rumors and speculations about compromise offers agitate the ranks of the strikers. Millard's and Conroy's past week of negotiations with Mitchell have been cloaked in secrecy. Their sole announcement has been that "the gap between the government and the union has been narrowed." Narrowed at whose expense?

**WEAKNESS OF LEADERSHIP**

There can be little doubt but that Millard and Co. are offering to further compromise the steel workers' demands. From the beginning the profit-bloated steel barons adopted an intransigent attitude to the union's demands for a 40-hour week and a 19½% increase. Since and even prior to the start of the strike in an attempt to placate the power-hungry bosses, the union leadership has scaled and watered-down the original demands. After bypassing the Wai Labor Board and striking against the government-appointed controller, the union leadership got sucked into the parliamentary Industrial Relations Committee, whose sole purpose was to stall settlement, build a case for the company and justify eventual interference by the government with police measures. On August 20, under pressure from the Hamilton police and upon the advice of the leaders for the first time in the history of the strike, the picket lines were opened. After temporary confusion, despite the cowardice of the leaders, the workers rallied in large numbers, repulsed the police and re-consolidated their ranks.

The union leadership has shown that it knows of no other way of meeting the fury and intransigence of the bosses and their government except by compromise. The courage, the militancy and solidarity of the Hamilton workers have so far saved the strike. But in order to secure its victory its base must be extended to encompass the scores of steel fabricating plants that continue to produce and fill the coffers of the owners of basic steel. Spread the strike. This is the answer to the threat of police violence, and this will beat the steel bosses.

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**LABOR CHALLENGE**

Vol. II No. 15 - Sept. 1946 (Editorial)

**THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL**

When Leon Trotsky was assassinated six years ago, the enemies of the Fourth International predicted—and hoped—that Trotskyism would die too. But the movement Trotsky built on granite foundations has not only survived—it has grown stronger than ever.

In Europe, the Trotskyist movement has sections or strong groups, in Austria, Bulgaria, Denmark, England, France, Germany, Greece, Holland, Italy, Norway and Spain; in the western hemisphere—Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Cuba, Chile, Mexico, Peru, United States and Uruguay. Among the strongest sections and groups are those in the colonial countries: Egypt, China, India, Indochina, Indonesia, Palestine, Syria and South Africa. Trotskyists are also active in Australia.

On the European continent—in France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Greece and elsewhere—the Fourth International cadres were decimated by Hitler's murder machine and persecuted by the capitalist liberators. In England and America, the Trotskyists were arrested for their opposition to the imperialist war. In the colonial countries, in the face of terrible oppression which exacted its toll of lives, the Fourth Internationalists played a leading role in the struggle of the oppressed peoples for independence from imperialist domination.

The young Fourth International counts its martyrs in hundreds throughout the world. In spite of the persecution, unprecedented in its scope and ferocity, carried on against it by the imperialist bourgeoisie, the fascists and the Stalinist bureaucracy, the Fourth International not only survived the war but emerged from it stronger than ever.

Proof of the prodigious vitality of the Fourth International was most sharply expressed by the postwar Conference of the Fourth International held in April of this year. Convened under difficult conditions in Belgium, the Conference represented a greater membership and number of sections than at the Founding Conference in 1938. The 1946 Conference rendered more precise and reaffirmed the Transitional Program adopted in 1938 under the guidance and leadership of Leon Trotsky.

Thus, six years after the death of Trotsky, the movement he founded, fights on. Its rise and growth on all continents is a reflection of the rising tide of revolution. Trotsky the man is dead but the mighty program of Trotskyism lives and will conquer.

The program of the Fourth International, The World Party of The Socialist Revolution, is the banner of *Labor Challenge*. It is our alternative to the continuation of capitalist exploitation of the working people of Canada and the preparations to turn this country into the battlefield of the atomic war being prepared by UNO.

The most pressing and immediate task confronting the advanced workers of this country is to build a powerful section of the Fourth International. Within the ranks of the Fourth International we will conquer and realize the historic slogan—Workers of the World Unite!

09-01-2

**MANAGER'S COLUMN**

By GORDON JAMES

One of our most consistent sub-getters lives in a small isolated community on Vancouver Island. Beginning with the first issue of *Labor Challenge*, over a year ago, he has sold a number of new subscriptions with every issue of the paper. We felt some time ago that he must surely have exhausted the sub-getting possibilities in his area but he is apparently still going strong. This time, he sends us two new six month subs and a one year subscription. If there is anyone in this area who is now not a reader of *Labor Challenge*, we feel sure B. J. will sign them up.

**ON THE PICKET LINE**

Readers of *Labor Challenge* will be very familiar with the situation at the Hamilton plant of the Steel Company of Canada, focal point of the strike of the basic steel-workers. In the past week our paper made its third appearance on the picket lines at Stelco just as the pickets succeeded in repulsing the police and defeated the efforts of the company to move trucks through their lines.

Our distributor reports, "There was a crowd of several thousand workers around the gates and since I was alone it looked like a difficult proposition to get the papers distributed. However, as soon as I started handing out the paper

a number of pickets grabbed bundles off the ground and began to distribute the paper to various sections of the picket line. *Labor Challenge* received an enthusiastic reception and over 1,000 copies were distributed. This was easily the best distribution to date."

**RENEWAL CAMPAIGN**

Toronto sub-getters are currently concentrating upon obtaining renewals to subs which have expired in the summer months. Due to holidays and generally decreased activities these expirations have mounted to considerable number. This work was prepared by dividing the lists of names into local areas and assigning each list to a comrade living convenient to the area. In most cases very little effort has been needed to obtain renewals, usually just a matter of calling and picking up the cash. Although just getting under way this week, we have already received 15 renewals from this effort. In addition Toronto obtained two new six month subs and one new one year sub.

Further activity by our sub-getters across the country is indicated by Windsor with two new six months subs; Vancouver, three new six month subs and one renewal; Streamstown, Alberta, one new one year sub and Dawson City, Y.T., a one year renewal.

# LABOR CHALLENGE

## STEEL STRIKERS SOLID IN NINTH WEEK

### Iberta Farmers strike; Raise Need or Parity Prices

By PAUL KANE

The Alberta Farmers Union with membership of 20,000 farmers launched the first Canadian farmer strike in 20 years. As the strike goes into its first week numerous small towns are without bread and are threatened with a shortage of meat and eggs. No stock quotations are being done by the Alberta Livestock Cooperative as deliveries continue to decline. Attempts to cross the picket line that blocks the roads here and there have resulted in minor flare-ups. Several farmers have been arrested, indicted and fined at various trials in the province.

In August 23 representatives of Alberta Farmers Union and United Farmers of Canada (Saskatchewan section) presented a series of demands to the government. Foremost of these demands is the immediate establishment of a fact finding board to define parity for parity between the prices farmers pay for what they buy and what they receive for what they sell. Getting the cold shoulder from the agents of Canadian Business at Ottawa the AFU issued a call for a non-delivery strike. The strike deadline found only AFU on the picket lines. The U.F.C. (Sask.) continued to voice support of this extremely moderate demand but left, in the words of its president, "the extent and scope of the action in Saskatchewan up to individual members and units." The Manitoba Federation of Agriculture quickly dissociated itself from the Alberta Farmers with the statement that "we think it impractical to strike harvest time. We feel that the strike will peter out."

### ASKATCHEWAN LEADERS IT STRIKE

While the strike got under way around the prevention of grain deliveries in an attempt to force the government, which is the biggest grain buyer, to concede \$1.55 a bushel, the Saskatchewan UF secretary, F. Eliason, dealt it a cowardly blow with the announcement that "grain now in elevators may be moved for shipment to Churchill without prejudice to the (Sask.) actions support of the Alberta Farmers delivery strike." The strike which is taking place at a very peak of the largest crop since 1942 and is planned to extend over a thirty day period has as yet had little effect on grain deliveries.

(Continued on page 2)

*Hatched in the Imperialists' Incubator*

### DIRECT ACTION BY OTTAWA VETS GAINS TEMPORARY HOUSING ✓

By E. JOHNSON

Direct action by Ottawa's home-catastrophized central authorities on the local areas the localities had for to shift regarding urgent each other's on Mackenzie Island into con-

Kildare Barracks, is now housing 20 families—32 children and 41 adults. Said Hanratty later to reporters in the only language that officials understand, "The city will provide shelter for these people, or else we'll see that they get it; and you know what I mean." And he gave notice that if there were not enough government buildings to take over, they

### Nurses Win \$20 Raise in Two Day Strike ✓

Outstanding among the hundreds of new union agreements, which in recent months have incorporated the greatest wage increases ever won by Canadian workers, was that signed September 12, between graduate nurses of the Belleville General Hospital and the hospital management.

This agreement, the first ever signed in Canadian nursing his-

### Gov't Threatens Use of Strikebreaking Vote Law; Steel Leaders Vacillating

By ROSS DOWSON

At overflow mass meetings held at Sydney, Hamilton and Sault Ste. Marie, more than 7,000 basic steelworkers voted almost unanimously to continue their battle with the profit-bloated Steel Barons. On Sunday September 8 over 2,200 Stelco strikers in a fighting mood turned down the government's latest offer by a unanimous show of hands. Several speakers took the floor to demand that the union's stated

### PC 3689 Is Blamed By Liberal Gov. Aimed at Labor

By D. WHITESIDE

With the passage of Order-in-Council P.C. 3689, section 6 of the report of the paralytic Industrial Relations Commission became law. This reaction tack on the labor movement unions involved in a dispute of a government-ordered, "secret" strike Strikebreaking section six, by CCF MP Clare Gillis, made considerable opposition in the discussion of the report in the House of Commons. The CCF met with the exception of Gillis was conveniently absent, against the report. Never the King cabinet, continuing wartime policy of government decree, passed the order in after the House had prorogued.

Already under attack Wage Coordinating Committee of the Canadian Congress of before it became law, P.C. meeting mounting opposition organized workers. Mansfield Local 439, UAW-CIO has a resolution to present to coming CCL convention demanding that the order be rescinded Toronto Trades and Labour Council (ATLC) at its September 8 meeting also condemned it. Harry, organizer of the ATLC local 811 of the IUWMS, strike for over 14 weeks, in a statement to the press opposed the proposal of a vote under the authority of the Department of Labour that the government declared that the government

\* minimum demand (15½ cent an hour wage increase) be agreed upon before anyone returned to work. On the following day Dosco and Algoma steelworkers in turbulent meetings of 1,800 and 3,000 rejected the offer as "inadequate and indefinite." Shouts of "We are not going to give up until our demands are met" and "We are all going to stick together" cut across the reports of the union representatives who at these two meetings recommended that the government formula be turned down.

The meetings and the vote reflected the militancy and determination of the steelworkers to carry on their heroic struggle which enters its ninth week and which has now brought basic steel production to a complete halt.

### GOVERNMENT'S ROLE

No sooner had this overwhelming vote been cast when the government threatened to further intercede on behalf of Big Business by applying Order in Council P.C. 3689 which empowers it to call a vote of all employees involved in a dispute at any time during a strike or threatened strike. The steelworkers bypassed its War Labor Boards, ignored its plant seizure, and defied its invading force of 500 police, but this servile instrument of the giant monopolies was not yet content to leave the field. On September 12 the government announced that there would be no further negotiations until a "representative" ballot was taken on the government proposals.

This hypocritical strike-breaking tactic is designed to pressure the weak-kneed and cowardly union leadership of the battling steelworkers to carry out a ballot vote under the guise that the almost unanimous hand vote was "inconclusive" and "representing minority groups." The twists and turns of the union leadership in the past few weeks threaten with the possibility that they may capitulate further under the heavy guns of the government and Steel Bosses despite the solidarity and fighting mood of the ranks.

Stelco has been the chosen battlefield of the steel barons. Here an estimated 2,000 scabs attempted to maintain production while at Algoma and Dosco not a wheel has turned. It is the Stelco workers, reinforced by rubber and electrical workers, who have born the brunt of the attack. Yet the vote was held at Stelco one whole day in advance of Algoma and Dosco. The national leadership was noticeably absent from the packed meeting and neither it nor the

(Continued on page 4)

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09-15<sup>th</sup>-1a

## Steel Strike in Ninth Week

(Continued from page 1)

local leadership made any recommendation on the government's 12½ cent offer.

Only a few weeks previously, after he had slashed the original demand for 19½ cents down to 15½, C. H. Millard assured the Stelco workers that that was "our final offer" and on this "we will stand or fall." But after receiving the government offer the day prior to the vote he was non-committal except for the remark that "the gap has been narrowed further." But the workers voiced their determination to carry on the struggle by flatly rejecting the government offer despite the cowardice of the "leadership".

Union demands up until that time even as stated by Millard to the Parliamentary Committee were wage demands. All issues other than the 15½ cent increase were to go to arbitration. No sooner had the steelworkers rejected the government offer when Millard stated that all that kept the union and the government apart was not the wage demand but the Dosco differential, holidays with pay, and acceptance by the employers of arbitration of union security. After having sig-

nified willingness to accept the 12½ cent offer the latest reports are that Millard has reconfirmed the 15½ cent demand but urges immediate arbitration of union security by a so-called "impartial" government appointed arbitrator. Eamon Parks, International representative of the union and chairman of the Ontario CCF Labor Committee has stated that "if the government will modify the proposals in line with the three points raised by the union (Millard) not only would the question of a vote not loom large but there would be little doubt that most strikers would accept the revised government formula.

The Steelworkers are on the verge of victory. For the first time production in Stelco is at a complete standstill. Despite the cowardice and equivocation of the leadership the workers have demonstrated their will to carry forward the battle against the bosses. Upon their victory lies the hopes of Rubber, Electrical and other strikers. Adhere to the 15½ cent wage demand. Reject all government attempts to interfere with "their" ballot vote and "their" impartial arbitration boards.

## Our Program:

### 1. Full Employment and Job Security For All Workers and Veterans!

A rising scale of wages! Increased wages to meet the increased cost of living!  
A sliding scale of hours! Reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay!  
Operate all government-built and idle plants under workers' control!!  
Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages during the entire period of unemployment!

### 2. Organization of The War Veterans by The Trade Unions!

### 3. Against any and all forms of racial prejudice or national oppression!

Full democratic rights for the French Canadians!

### 4. Tax the rich not the poor!

No taxes in incomes under \$3,000 a year! Confiscate all War Profits!

### 5. Independent working class political action!

Establish the workers' and farmers' government!

### 6. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!

For the complete independence of the colonial people!  
Withdraw all Canadian troops from foreign soil!

## Prairie Farmers Take Strike Action

(Continued from page 1)

which have only begun to flow towards the elevators.

Amongst the demands that the farmers presented to the government were: the removal of taxes on co-operatives, a five year guaranteed price of \$1.55 a bushel for wheat, the removal of price increases on farm machinery, etc. The motive force of the farmers' strike is obviously an attempt to keep pace with the rapidly rising cost of goods. The farmer's struggle only parallels that which is already being wage by 40,000 industrial workers against the giant monopolies. But the farmers, separated by the nature of their labor, their more widely varying economic levels and degrees of social consciousness, and lacking an experienced and hardened leadership are waging a much less effective battle.

### FOR FARM LABOR SOLIDARITY

The farmers like the small merchant but unlike the worker can not demand wage increases corresponding to the increase in prices since they do not work for wages. But in their capacity as consumers and producers they can step into the politics of price fixing shoulder to shoulder with the workers.

There was no price control for the workers or farmers under the Wartime Prices and Trade Board. It was only a mask behind which the government plundered and robbed the small producer and worker and granted huge price in-

\*creases to the farm implement manufacturers, etc., the real rulers of Canada. Nor will there be parity for the farmers under a government sponsored Big Business controlled fact finding board. The capitalists will whine and lie about the costs of production, of transport and trade. The consumers must answer: "Show us your books; we demand control over the fixing of prices." The organs of this control must be Committees on Prices, made up of delegates from the factories, trade unions, housewives, cooperatives, farmers' organizations, etc. The farmers can gain their demands only in unity with the organized strength of the workers.

09/15-1b

## ATTENTION! CCL DELEGATES AND TORONTO READERS

### PUBLIC MEETING

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 8 p.m.

Subject:

### "Trade Unionism at the Crossroads"

87 King Street West, Room 5

Questions and Discussion

09-15-2

# S.W.P. TO CONTEST ELECTIONS IN 5 STATES

Special to Labor Challenge

**NEW YORK.**—The greatest election campaign in the 18-year history of the American Trotskyist movement is now well underway, with petitions already filed to place 16 candidates of the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in five states.

The gathering of petitions with thousands of signatures, a necessary preliminary to place candidates on the ballot in the United States, has been accomplished in record time. Every obstacle is placed in the way of working class parties participating in elections and in New York State, petitions bearing no less than 12,000 signatures, at least 50 from each of 62 counties, had to be obtained in a few weeks.

Just to make sure that their candidates would not be kept off the ballot by some capitalist legal trickery, petitions with some 23,000 names were filed in the New York state capital on September 2, to place five candidates on the ballot in the most important state in the U.S. The activists of the SWP had collected almost 9,000 more signatures than the Socialist Party and 4,000 more than the Stalinist Communist Party.

The candidates of the Communist Party are expected, from statements of their leaders, to withdraw in favor of the Democratic, American Labor Party, Liberal Party, slate. This slate is led by the capitalist politicians, Mead and Lehman, and is considered by the Stalinists to be a "Democratic-labor-progressive coalition" against the present governor the Republican, Dewey.

Petition campaigns have already been completed to put the party on the ballot in New Jersey, Washington and Minnesota. In Ohio, the party is fighting against a ruling of the boss dominated election board of Toledo, barring them from the ballot under a long forgotten rule which states that petitions must be filed as a unit. Capitalist politicians and parties have been filling petitions in several groups for years and officials informed the SWP that this was customary procedure.

The election campaigns of the American Trotskyists have more than local or state-wide significance. They are of national and



C. K. Johnson (at the right), Minnesota election campaign manager, pays the clerk in the Secretary of State's office, on July 31, as the SWP candidates, W candidate for 3rd District Congressman; Dorothy Schultz, for 4th District C Grace Carlson, Senatorial candidate, looks on.

international importance. The Trotskyist candidates everywhere will be advancing a program of struggle designed for the whole American working class, the success they achieve in these five key states will influence the future political development of American labor.

One of the main planks of the SWP campaign is the demand for the building of an independent labor party, for a break with the old trade union policy of supporting so-called "Friends of Labor" among the capitalist parties. By voting for the Socialist Workers Party candidates, the workers will be voting for the formation of a

labor party and for the only genuine labor candidates now in the field.

It is a tribute to the enduring sound program of Trotskyism and to the consistent, uncompromising struggle the SWP has waged in the interests of the working class, that the party has grown to the point where it is able now to make this great advance.

This reflects the growing influence of the SWP among the workers, the Negro people and all sections of the oppressed. It demonstrates that despite all obstacles the ideas of revolutionary socialism are penetrating deeper and deeper into the masses.

## Trotskyist Leaders Seized by Puppet Bulgarian Gov't

Leading Bulgarian Trotskyists, including Dr. Dimiter Gatchev, Dr. Mintcho Telbivov, Liliana Pirintchieva and others, have been arrested by the Stalinist dominated government in Sofia. The fate of these heroic fighters against Bulgarian reaction and German fascism who were arrested June 13 is still unknown.

The arrest of Trotskyists and other opposition elements such as members of The League for the Rights of Man has been vigorously protested by prominent liberal, civil liberty and labor leaders in the United States. But up to this time the Bulgarian government has not replied to the telegrams of protest nor made known the fate of the victims of the Bulgarian purge, which coincides with the new purges in the Soviet Union. Nor is it known under what charges the Trotskyists are being held.

Comrade Gatchev, 46 years old, entered the Communist movement in 1921 as a member of the Spartakus Bund in Germany. As leader of the military organization of the Bulgarian Communist Party he was arrested by the Tzankoff dictatorship in 1925 and spent the next seven years in prison. He was expelled from the CP as a Trotskyist in 1927. The many years he has spent in prison and the privations he has endured for the sake of Bolshevik principles have seriously weakened his physical condition. This latest arrest at the hands of the puppet government of the Kremlin has put his life in danger.

# LABOR CHALLENGE

Vol. II No. 17 - October 1946 (24)

10-01-1

## CCL CONVENTION ENDORSES CCF; ACTIONS OF CCF MP's CRITICIZED

Special to Labor Challenge

TORONTO, Sept. 29.—The Sixth Convention of the Canadian Congress of Labor, held in Toronto, September 23-27 marked two years of progress of industrial unionism. Almost 700 delegates, representing 350,000 workers in the basic industries from coast to coast, met to discuss policy and pick their officers, in the midst of the greatest strike struggles in the history of unionism in this country. The convention proceedings from start to finish, reflecting the growing maturity of the class struggle, were dominated by the increasing pressure of political problems.

A. R. Mosher, in his presidential address in speaking of the past war and the danger of war, said: "It can scarcely be said, however, that the victory achieved over Germany and Japan did more than put an end to military combat . . . It did nothing in itself to destroy the basic causes of war which are largely economic in character." Mosher also dealt at length with the question of political action, reaffirming the stand of the 1943 and 1944 conventions in endorsing the CCF as the political arm of labor.

## POLITICAL ACTION DEBATE

This position was debated for a

day and a half by the delegates who divided into two main camps. The Stalinist Labor Progressive Party delegates, almost one third of those present, opposed the endorsement of the CCF and favored, along with most conservative elements, a non-partisan stand to allow the endorsement of capitalist candidates. The CCF members, with the support of the official leadership, carried on a vigorous fight for endorsement. It is significant, that for the first time the strong French-Canadian bloc from Quebec supported almost unanimously the idea of independent working class political action embodied in endorsement of the CCF.

The Stalinists seized the opportunity to attack the imperialist policy of the CCF leadership and the actions of its parliamentarians on the government Committee of Industrial Relations. Many supporters of the CCF used with telling effect, against the LPP its "non-partisan" support of the reactionary Liberal Party in 1945. But on a few occasions some of the right wing CCF supporters in attacking the Stalinists came very close to red-baiting.

## POSITION OF LEFT-WING

Typical of the left wing supporters of independent labor political

(Continued on page 2)

## CCL RE-AFFIRMS STAND ON CCF

(Continued from page 1)

action, Lloyd Whalen, a delegate from the International Woodworkers of America, CIO, stated: "I would like to see this Congress endorse the CCF again, with some reservations, but not if the CCF intends to follow the reactionary trail blazed by the Labor government in Britain." He then went on to condemn the reactionary

foreign policy of the Labor government and its failure to carry out in any appreciable degree its election promises to the British workers. Other left-wing delegates who supported the general line of the political action resolution made it clear that the CCF must transform itself into a genuine labor party with a correct program and by giving more democratic representation to the unions.

This debate ended with reaffirmation of the previous position of the CCL in endorsing the CCF as the political arm of labor by a vote of approximately two to one.

Although the wage policy of the Congress as developed by the Wage Co-ordinating Committee came in for severe criticism no new policy was adopted. Instead a number of resolutions calling for maintenance of the practically non-existent price ceilings were passed. Either by accident or design a number of resolutions passed by locals for a sliding scale of wages failed to reach the floor.

On the question of support of the Jews and other oppressed peoples the LPP delegates attempted to appear as revolutionaries but always ended up by handing the question over to the tender mercies of the "Thieves Kitchen" of 1946, the so-called United Nations Organization. At this point some delegates took the opportunity to point out to both the LPP and CCF supporters that the problem of the oppressed peoples could only be solved under socialism. At the same time they attacked both British and American imperialism for their actions in Europe and Asia.

There was only one change in the incoming executive when J. M. Bedard, Quebec CCL Regional Director, replaced Prezau who declined to run. During the counting of the ballots the convention wound up with an impressive display of solidarity by raising over \$10,000 from unions, delegates and visitors for the workers on strike.

# The World Party of the Socialist Revolution - The 4th International

10-01-2

In the pages of *Labor Challenge* we have many times traced the histories of the Second and Third Internationals and analysed the reasons for their collapse. The Second International died as a significant force in 1914, at the outbreak of the first imperialist war. The second imperialist war likewise saw the final extinction of the Comintern.

Both these Internationals collapsed from the same fundamental cause — nationalistic degeneration. The leadership of the Second International, feeding on the crumbs that fell from the capitalist tables during the period of bourgeois expansion, became so entwined with the capitalist state that, at the critical moment, all internationalist pretensions were tossed aside and the various sections leaped at each others throats in defence of the fatherland.

The nationalistic degeneration of the Third International had different roots but the same final result. It had its origin in the Stalinist theory of socialism in a single country. This meant that the Comintern became subordinated to the nationalist policies of the Stalin bureaucracy. We have seen also how it came to mean the subordination of the sections of the Comintern to the bourgeoisie of those states which happened to be "allied" to the Kremlin.

## INTERNATIONALISM LIVES ON

The lesson of the collapse of these two internationals is not the renunciation of internationalism but its revival. Their collapse did not mean, as some pessimists and defeatists would have us believe, the end of internationalism in the workers' movement. Some of the more far-sighted capitalist journals warned, during the general bourgeois exultation over the dissolution of the Comintern, that workers' internationalism was by no means dead. They were more correct than the faint hearts in the labor movement. Revolutionary internationalism lives and flourishes today in the Fourth International, the only international movement that survived the holocaust of war.

The fight to strengthen the Fourth International is today a matter of the greatest importance

and the highest aim to which a revolutionist can dedicate himself. The growth and final victory of revolutionary internationalism, in this epoch of atomic and bacterial warfare, is a matter of life and death.

## CAPITALISM IS WORLD-WIDE

The events of the last decades have proven beyond all doubt that no problem can be solved on a national basis. World economy, in the present epoch, is so intricately linked that it forms a single entity. This unity of world economy was never more clear than it is now when the economy of the entire planet, with the exception of the Soviet Union, is under the domination of American imperialism. There is no country in which revolutionary struggles will not ultimately come face to face with Wall Street and its agents.

No section of this interwoven world economy can be detached from the rest and its problems solved in isolation. It was precisely the attempt to do this that has brought the Soviet Union to its present impasse. In spite of its superficial appearance of strength, the Soviet Union is weaker than it has ever been and in grave danger from American imperialism without and counter-revolutionary sections of its own ruling clique within. This flows directly from the betrayal of workers' internationalism by Stalin and the bureaucracy he represents.

The economic and political unity of the world means that a blow at imperialism in one country is a blow at imperialism in all countries. A great strike wave in the United States weakens American imperialism abroad. Conversely, revolutionary struggles in the colonies and in Europe weaken the power of Wall Street over its

own workers at home. But these movements cannot succeed alone and in isolation from each other. Together they have the power to destroy and overthrow the capitalist system.

## ONE ENEMY—ONE PROGRAM

Just as the workers of all countries and the colonial people have a common enemy, so they must have a common program and a common leadership for the struggle. The day of national revolutionary parties ended long ago. Today there can be only one revolutionary party—the International, with sections in every country—with a program aiming at nothing less than world revolution.

That is what Trotskyists mean by internationalism. Nationalism means the subordination of the world movement to the Kremlin bureaucracy or to "democratic" capitalism. Internationalism means the subordination of the labor movement of each country to the interests of the world revolution. This requires, not a loosely knit organization like the Second International with its sections jealous of their "national independence", but a genuine world party built on the firm foundations of tested principles and rigorous discipline.

The test of revolutionary internationalism is imperialist war. The torrent of bourgeois propaganda and bourgeois police measures sweeps aside all but the most devoted. We have seen how was destroyed two internationals. But the Fourth International, founded only in 1938 and small in numbers carried its principles intact throughout the war and not only survived but grew. It has become what the Third International was in the days of Lenin and Trotsky—the general staff of the world proletariat.

Today, under the growing shadow of a new and far more murderous imperialist war there is no task more urgent than the building of the Fourth International. It is a race against time. In Canada, as in all other countries the workers must build the sections of the Fourth International, the International which has won for itself the title World Party of the Socialist Revolution.

**LABOR CHALLENGE**

M.I.II #11 - October 1946 (24)

10-01-3

**MANAGER'S COLUMN**

By GORDON JAMES

In common with the workers' press since the first paper was published devoted exclusively to the interests of the working people, Labor Challenge depends on the generosity of its readers and their financial contributions to make continuous publication possible. The money necessary to meet our deficit between subscription rates and actual cost is raised in large degree by our annual fund-raising drive and by additional contributions from time to time by our readers. In our short history the response from our readers in this connection has been most gratifying. This issue we have received \$10 from J. G. B. in Alberta and \$3.50 from H. N. in British Columbia. Thank you, comrades.

Vancouver continues to be the brightest spot in the sub picture since our last issue. The newly founded Labor Challenge Supporters Club sends us 14 new subs and a renewal plus a promise that this is but a beginning. Toronto has been unusually quiet with only two new subs and one renewal. Totals since our last issue are as follows:

Vancouver—6 one year subs, 8 six month subs and one renewal.  
 Maritimes—5 six month subs.  
 Toronto—2 six month subs, 1 renewal.  
 Magna Bay, B.C.—3 renewals.  
 Crowland, Ont.—1 one year.  
 Winnipeg—1 one year.  
 Victoria—1 renewal.

We might mention that the five subscriptions from the maritimes were sent in by a worker whose job calls for a great deal of travelling around. This supporter has won the distinction of obtaining new readers for Labor Challenge from coast to coast.

A very successful distribution of Labor Challenge was made last week at one of the large General Electrical plants in Toronto. About 400 papers were distributed as the workers left the plant, despite "competition" of the company rag. One worker bought a sub from a distributor and several went out of their way to obtain a copy of the paper. Comment was very friendly and showed Labor Challenge is rapidly becoming known to workers in this area as a genuine champion of their interests.

**Toronto Mass Meeting**

TO HAIL THE FOUNDING OF

**The Revolutionary Workers Party  
Of Canada****Sunday, October 6, 8 p.m.—Labor Lyceum, 346 Spadina Av.**

Speakers: Ross Dowson, Toronto; Tom Bradley, Vancouver; Murray Dowson, Editor Labor Challenge; Chairman: George Stanton, Prince Rupert

# LABOR CHALLENGE

## NATIONAL CONVENTION LAUNCHES THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY

### Ont. Lumbermen Join Picket Lines UAW, UE Settle

As Big Business sat back to lick the wounds inflicted by the steel workers, a new strike dared up on the horizon. On October 1 approximately 12,000 Ontario bush workers broke through a last-minute government attempt at conciliation, stalled and struck lumber camps and sawmills in an area embracing 2,400 square miles surrounding Cochrane.

The strike was called by Locals 2785 and 2995 of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union (APL) after long and fruitless attempts at negotiations with the lumber, pulp and paper millionaires. The union is demanding a five dollar a day minimum wage, union recognition and improved working and living conditions. Almost 2,000 busi workers in the Port Arthur area had the gun on the strike demand line. They are now being joined in local towns and cities by thousands of workers who are gradually filtering in from the many small and isolated camps that are widely scattered throughout the bush country.

### CHEMICAL STRIKERS WIN INCREASES

The steel settlement brought to a close several other of the long and extended strikes that have involved thousands of workers in the basic industries. Two of the UAW-GIO strikers in the Windsor area have ended with substantial gains. The hard fought strike at Brantford, which broke out on June 27 was settled with an average increase of 14 cents an hour, paid vacations, and an irreducible checkoff. The Windsor GIO strikers won 12 cents and a modified version of the Rand formula of union security. The 117-day Chrysler strike seems certain

### RWP Strengthens the Blow



### THE BALANCE SHEET OF THE GREAT STRIKE IN BASIC STEEL

By ROSS DOWSON

The 81 day basic steel strike has come to a close. On October 2, 8,000 of the 12,000 steelworkers eligible to vote cast a ten to one ballot in favor of acceptance of the revised

(SEE PAGE 3)

10-15-1a

### Delegates from Key Industrial Areas Lay Firm Foundation for New Party

TORONTO, Oct. 3.—The Revolutionary Workers Party of Canada was founded, here, this week, by delegates from Labor Challenge Clubs in the most important cities across the country. The independent revolutionary party of the Canadian working class was born in a two day convention of delegates who had come together on the basis of the program of *Labor Challenge*, twice-monthly Canadian organ of Trotskyism.

Among the delegates present were four from Vancouver, who represented the left-wing of the British Columbia CCF who recently broke with that organization, under the leadership of R. W. Bullock, Lloyd Whalen and T. J. Bradley. They represented the newly formed Labor Challenge Supporters Club of Vancouver.

The Socialist Workers Party of the United States was represented by a fraternal delegate, E. R. Frank, editor of the *Fourth International*, the monthly theoretical organ of American Trotskyism.

The first item on the agenda of the constituent convention of the RWP was the report of the international situation. This highly important part of the proceedings dealt in detail with the following points: the continuing rapid degeneration of capitalism on a world scale, characterizing this period as the death agony of capitalism, an epoch of wars and revolutions leading to either the victory of socialism or the extinction of mankind; the world-wide upsurge of the working class after the Second World War and two decades of defeats; the sharpening contradiction between the imperialist powers and the nationalized property of the Soviet Union and the danger of a third imperialist war; the role of the Fourth International, The World Party of the Socialist Revolution.

### CANADIAN SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Following a discussion of the international report the delegates voted unanimously to apply to the Fourth International for recognition as its Canadian section. This action reflected the spirit of revolutionary socialist internationalism that prevailed in all the sessions of the convention.

Ross Dowson, delegate from Toronto, reported on the past achievements of the Trotskyists

(Continued on page 6)

### Trotskyists Enter Ceylon Elections

The Trotskyists in Ceylon plan a full list of candidates in the coming election. A preliminary slate of 15 nominees has already been announced by the Ceylon Unit of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, Section of the Fourth International. Our readers will recall that the representatives of the Ceylon Unit in the Ceylon State Council of 1939 were thrown into concentration camp for their revolutionary opposition to World War II, their press banned, and their party driven underground.

→ to p. 2

## CONVENTION FOUNDS NEW PARTY

(Continued from page 1)

movement in Canada since its first national conference in the Fall of 1944. He told how the conference which met in Montreal, in the midst of the war, prepared the ground for the formation of the Revolutionary Workers Party in this convention. This report dealt with the launching and growth of the paper Labor Challenge which had spread the program of the Fourth International across the country. Labor Challenge was our first organizer, he stated, and had become more than doubly effective since its appearance as a twice-monthly in January, 1946. He dealt at length with the establishment of solid branches of our movement in the main industrial centres and the growth of our influence in the organizations of the workers.

### GAINS MADE IN STRUGGLE FOR PROGRAM

This report was amplified by delegates from other centres which in all cases recorded organizational gains. The progress registered by the convention was made on the basis of a principled fight for the program of revolutionary socialism against all its opponents—the capitalists, the reformist leaders of the CCF and the Stalinist LPP. All the delegates agreed with the main body of the organizational report which called for the immediate establishment of the independent revolutionary party of the working class.

The organizational report was adopted after considerable discussion. The convention then chose the name Revolutionary Workers Party of Canada for the new party. A constitution, based on the principles of democratic centralism, was discussed point by point and adopted.

### TASKS AND PERSPECTIVES

The delegates then turned to discuss the tasks and perspectives of the party. It was unanimously agreed that one of the first duties of the RWP was the fight against the present danger of a third imperialist war and the war preparations of the Canadian government. The convention decided to make the party known throughout the country as the most uncompromising fighter against imperialist war and militarism.

It was also resolved that the RWP would participate in elections under its own banner wherever possible in order to bring its program before the masses. The problem of strengthening the party in the Province of Quebec was considered as one of the most important immediate tasks. French Canadian delegates from Montreal led the discussion on this question.

Other steps forward for the coming period were the raising of \$1,500 to stabilize and increase the influence of Labor Challenge, the establishment of branch headquarters in several cities and the increase of educational work. The delegates, who in their majority were trade unionists, spent some time in debating the activity of the organization in this field. Plans were laid to increase and centralize this work as the most important sphere of activity of the RWP.

A National Executive Committee of nine and one alternate were elected to lead the party until the next convention. Ross Dowson was elected National Secretary. The N.C. was instructed to prepare a statement of principles of the party for publication in pamphlet form, in French and English, as soon as possible.

## Campaign Opened to Raise ✓ \$1,500 for Labor Challenge

The forces that have gathered to form the Revolutionary Workers Party of Canada came together around the program advanced by *Labor Challenge*. It is only fitting therefore that one of the first acts of the newly formed party should involve this paper which has played such a vital role in the birth and growth of our movement.

With this issue of *Labor Challenge* we are opening a drive to raise the sum of \$1,500 to stabilize the financial base of our paper and to increase its circulation. The campaign, which will extend for two months, will begin with this issue and will conclude on December 15th. All contributors are urged to send their donations to *Labor Challenge*, 87 King St. W., Room 5, Toronto 1, Ont.

We are appealing to *Labor Challenge's* rapidly expanding numbers of readers to rally to the aid of their paper by sending in their own personal contributions and collecting contributions from friends and shopmates. We are depending on your support because you know the vital role *Labor Challenge* is playing in the current struggles for better wages and decent working conditions and in the important task of preparing the Canadian working class for the great battles that lie ahead.

### OUR FIRST CAMPAIGN

Ten months ago hundreds of our readers rallied to make *Labor Challenge* a twice monthly. The \$1,000 objective required to make

the bold blow of the government to smash the steel strike.

*Labor Challenge* was the first to raise the call for a sliding scale of wages. It has consistently fought for this demand as the only effective way to defeat the inflationary attacks of Big Business on the workers' wages. It has championed the demand for the withdrawal of all labor representatives from War Labor Boards and all other phoney agencies that the government has erected to hamstring labor.

Able working class correspondents throughout the globe have reported the news and the lessons of the struggles of the oppressed peoples of the world in the columns of *Labor Challenge*. We know that only the solidarity of the working class can drown the reactionary hatreds and divisions instilled by international capitalism.

### BEST ANTI-WAR FIGHTER

*Labor Challenge* is the only genuine spokesman against the war preparations of Canadian capitalism. When the LPP and the CCF were hailing the end of the war which was to pave the way for peace and security for decades to come the September 1946 issue

(Continued on page 5)

## \$1,500 Campaign

(Continued from page 1)

10-15-16

### Just Can't Keep Up

In the Sept. 28 issue, the Canadian Tribune referred to the first American playing of "Dmitri Shostakovich's famous ninth symphony." Three days later Dmitri was sharply rapped on the knuckles by the editor of Culture and Life, a newspaper published by the Agitation and Propaganda Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The composer was accused of "lack of warm ideological conviction."

Since the Stalinists here have difficulty recognizing ideological conviction in politics, much less music, a little advance warning might be in order.

of *Labor Challenge* carried a headline: "There is no peace; Only socialism can save mankind from atomic destruction in another world war." Its analysis has been proven in the fire of events. *Labor Challenge* continues to be the only anti-war paper. The only hope for humanity lies in its revolutionary socialist program.

*Labor Challenge* operates at a large deficit. It is not self-sustaining from its subscriptions which are priced low to fit the worker's pocket. It does not carry any expensive ads from large corporations or government agencies. It depends for financial support upon the workers for whom it fights.

We are not content with our present circle of readers which has been growing constantly. We want to enlarge it. We want to reach the thousands of workers many of whom are entering into the class struggle for the first time and who are undoubtedly looking for our paper. They are dissatisfied with the capitalist system and we must bring them the hope and light of our program.

We call upon all *Labor Challenge* readers to come to our aid by sending in a contribution. *Labor Challenge* is your paper support it with your dimes and dollars.

### SUBSCRIPTION BLANK —

## LABOR CHALLENGE

87 KING ST. W., ROOM 5, TORONTO 1, ONT.

A twice-monthly paper bringing the truth about labor's struggle for socialism to the working people of Canada.

I enclose coin, M.O. or stamps for  
 50 Cents—Six Months Subscription (12 issues)  
 \$1.00—One Year's Subscription (24 issues)

NAME .....

STREET .....

CITY..... ZONE..... PROV.....

## THE BALANCE SHEET OF THE GREAT STRIKE IN BASIC STEEL

By ROSS DOWSON

The 81 day basic steel strike has come to a close. On October 2, 8,000 of the 12,000 steelworkers eligible to vote cast a ten to one ballot in favor of acceptance of the revised government offer. This offer conceded a 13 cent general wage increase and promised the removal of the Sydney five cent an hour wage differential. The remaining demands are to be arbitrated.

While the strike has been settled on a much lower basis than the original demand for a 19½ cent increase and a 40-hour week it none the less constitutes a victory for Canadian labor even though only a partial one. True, the staggering rise in the cost of living has already eaten up most if not all of the 13 cent increase but the steelworkers have 13 cents more in their pocket which they would not have had otherwise than through the strike. The Sydney differential is to be wiped out and negotiations and settlement were conducted on a national

scale. These are all important achievements.

### TEST OF STRENGTH

This strike was the first real test of strength between the newly organized and inexperienced industrial unions and the most arrogant, the most powerful monopolist interests in Canada. Buttressed by their vast war-profits and confident of victory the Steel Barons went hog-wild to cripple and destroy organized labor. But their high and mighty hopes were smashed on

(Continued on page 2)

## Balance Sheet of the Steel Strike

(Continued from page 1)

the granite strength of the working class.

On the first day of conflict the Stelco plant in Hamilton was exposed as the soft spot in labor's armament. It was here that the Big Three concentrated all their forces hoping to break through and roll back the entire labor front. It is no secret that Stelco was saved not by the policies of the steel leadership but only by the solidarity of the Canadian, and in particular the Hamilton, working class.

The Hamilton picket line, which beat back numerous attempts to crack it, was continuously reinforced by thousands of striking electrical and rubber workers. Railwaymen refused to supply the plant or transport the scab produced steel. When the police threatened to smash the strike threats of sympathetic action spread across the country. The workers from several Hamilton steel plants hit the bricks and hundreds of veterans joined the picket lines. Last but not least

the vast steel plants at Sault Ste Marie and Sydney were completely shut down and were gradually bringing the entire economy to a halt.

In the course of its stormy development the steel strike put many persons, organizations and issues to the test. Once again the long carefully fostered myth of government impartiality came under a withering fire. Even as the forces were lining up for battle the government showed where it stood—four square behind the steel bosses. The steelworkers had to bypass the boss controlled War Labor Boards and they had to strike against the government plant seizures. The government attempted to lead the strike back into the maze of conference tables and talk the unions demands away through the Parliamentary Industrial Relations Committee, and failed. Over 500 Provincial and Federal police were shipped into Hamilton to drown the strike in blood. Only the mass protests and solidarity of labor forestalled such action and prevented the government from enforcing that reactionary Order in Council P.C. 3689 which was signed by the Parliamentary Committee.

While the power and determination of the government and the Steel Bosses failed to intimidate the workers and smash the strike it took its toll of their leadership. The role that the Millard leadership played in the strike makes a sordid tale of cowardice and indecision. The overwhelming strike vote taken early in May became in Millard's hands only another straw at the bargaining table. While Hilton was prepared to destroy the union Millard dallied at the conference table.

When the strike was called two months later about 2,000 workers remained in the plant including a

couple of hundred former union members. As Stelco dealt blow after blow at the union Millard repiled by undercutting and watering down the union demands. Even before the strike took place Millard secretly informed the government of his willingness to accept a ten cent increase. Millard's 15½ cent offer made to the Parliamentary Committee received the endorsement of the Hamilton local as "our final offer." On Sept. 8 the leadership without any recommendation presented a new offer of 13½ cent. It was rejected almost unanimously but less than one month later the National Advisory Committee recommended the acceptance of 13 cents.

### STRIKE CONFINED TO BASIC STEEL ONLY

Early in the strike it became obvious that its very limited scope and power was endangering its success. It was necessary to spread the strike to other sections of the vast empire of the power-crazed Steel Barons . . . to the fabricating plants, many of which were organized by the Steelworkers but were continuing to fill the coffers of the Big Three's anti-union war chest. Labor Challenge exposed the shallowness and dangers inherent in the leadership's

of the CCF. Not only have the actions of the steel leadership, which is almost entirely CCF, been endorsed but they are held up as examples of "labor statesmanship." The 23 CCF members of the House of Commons also played a notable part in the steel strike. Three of the "labor" CCF M.P.'s gave their sanction and their authority to the strike breaking Industrial Relations Committee by sitting on it. Even worse, Clare Gillis who represents the striking Dosco workers in the House wrote into the committee's report Clause Six which subsequently became the fascist Order in Council 3689.

The LPP played a hands-off policy in this strike. During the strike three loads of scrap steel were shipped out of the strike-bound Stelco plant in boats organized by the Canadian Seamen's Union which is Stalinist controlled. The Stalinists limited themselves almost entirely to aiming the old barb at the cowardly CCF leadership but even this with tongue in cheek for their role in the current great wave of strikes has been no wit different. The LPP supported the Parliamentary Committee and neither advanced nor supported the demand for the spreading of the strike.

While the weak-kneed policy of the union leadership liquidated many of the gains that could have been won, the workers have gone through a considerable experience. Moral is high and labor is developing a new consciousness of its powers. The next engagements with the bosses will be even more turbulent and stormy. They will employ their forces more ruthlessly and on a larger scale. But with the experiences of the steel strike assimilated the working class will counteract all the bosses' plans and surge forward.

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strike strategy and called for the extension of the strike into the fabricating plants.

As the strike developed this call was taken up by thousands of workers. Early in August the Toronto Area Council representing 15,000 steelworkers urged Millard to strike the fabricating plants and called upon the CCL National leadership to issue a call for a general strike. The Montreal Labor Council pressed for sympathetic strike action and both the Nova Scotia Federation of Labor and the Toronto Labor Council called for strike if the police provoked any incident at Stelco. The Millard leadership remained deaf to these powerful forces and continued to seek victory through compromise. But a Dosco plant in Montreal and several steel plants in Hamilton swelled the strikers' ranks despite the passivity of their leaders.

### CCF AND THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE

The despicable role of the National Director of the Steelworkers, C. H. Millard, who is also high in the hierarchy of the CCF, has received the complete endorsement

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The Balance Sheet of the Strike Wave

Auspices of The Toronto Branch  
**REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY**  
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 Questions and Discussion

10-15-2

# The Formation of the RWP A Great Step Forward

AN EDITORIAL

Ever since its first issue in June of 1945, when the imperialist war was still raging, Labor Challenge has worked for the creation of a new revolutionary party in Canada. In sharp contrast to the reformist policies of the CCF and the LPP, Labor Challenge consistently advanced the only program on which a revolutionary party can be based—the program of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

In the 15 months of its existence, Labor Challenge grouped about it, on the basis of this program, the cadres for the new party. In a two day convention at the end of September, its efforts were crowned with success. Delegates, representing Labor Challenge Clubs in the main cities of Canada met in Toronto and founded the Revolutionary Workers Party of Canada.

The foundation of the RWP is an event of the greatest significance for the Canadian workers. It raises again in this country, for the first time in many years, the banner of internationalism, of class struggle, of revolutionary communism. With its roots going back to the early years of the Communist International and the Communist Party of Canada in the period when it was still the vanguard of the workers, the RWP is the heir to a great tradition.

## Epoch of Struggle

The new party makes its entry on the political arena in a period of great struggles. Capitalism on a world scale is writhing in its death agony. Having drenched the world in blood in two imperialist wars, it is now rushing headlong into a third.

The decay of world capitalism is accompanied by a sharp leftward swing of the masses throughout the world. After twenty years of defeat the workers have emerged from the second imperialist war with renewed confidence and strength. The upsurge of the masses has been demonstrated by the revolutionary developments in Greece and Italy while the war was still on, by the victory of the

Labor Party in England and the gains of the Stalinist and Socialist parties in France and elsewhere.

Recognizing that revolutionary internationalism alone can overthrow the capitalist system and halt the preparations for a new imperialist war, the Revolutionary Workers Party take its place as the Canadian section of the Fourth International, the World Party of the Socialist Revolution.

## Leftward Swing in Canada

The developments on the world arena are reflected in Canada in a sharpening of the class struggle. The workers of this country have been engaged in a fight on the picket lines to preserve their standard of living against the assaults of the bosses and their stooges in the Liberal Government at Ottawa. The shortage of homes and adequate living conditions for the Canadian veterans and workers has been highlighted by the militant action of Ottawa veterans in seizing empty buildings for their families. While the workers are homeless, while prices rise and wages fall, the ruling class of Canada is hastening the militarization of the country in preparation for the imperialist attack on the Soviet Union.

In the face of these conditions, the LPP and the CCF are playing in Canada, the same treacherous role as their counterparts in Europe, where Stalinism and Social Democracy are diverting the revolutionary aspirations of the masses into nationalist and class collaborationist blind alleys.

The Stalinist Labor Progressive Party, trading on its past, attempts to appear before the Canadian workers as a party of Marxism and socialism. Yet, in spite of its loudly advertised "left turn", it continues to call for electoral coalitions with all "progressive" elements in the country including the Liberal bourgeoisie. It continues to spread pacifist and nationalist illusions among the masses and

(Continued on page 6)

# Another Big Step Forward—

(Continued from page 1)

to betray every principle of Marxism by its support of UNO, its "ban the bomb" campaign, etc. It sacrifices, as it has for years, every interest of the Canadian workers in the interests of the reactionary foreign policy of its master in the Kremlin.

The basic policy of the CCF is little different from that of the LPP. Both are reformist parties; both follow in the trade unions the same policy of class collaboration. Like the LPP, the CCF has endorsed UNO, the new thief's kitchen. It has gone a step further and aligned itself with the Anglo-American bloc against the Soviet Union.

Both of these reformist parties supported the second imperialist war and acted as recruiting agents for the ruling class. In spite of the clear declaration in the Regina Manifesto that the CCF would support no more wars "to make the world safe for capitalism", the CCF leadership, with the single exception of J. S. Woodsworth, voted to support the war in 1939. The LPP bound the workers to the war machine by supporting the no strike pledge and its leaders continue to brag of their role in the campaign for the "yes" vote on overseas conscription.

The bankruptcy of the CCF and LPP has been demonstrated beyond all doubt. No matter what

new turn of policy may be forced on the LPP by the needs of Stalin's foreign policy, the workers can expect nothing but betrayal. The hardened opportunist leadership of the CCF likewise excludes any possibility of converting the CCF into an instrument of social revolution.

## Only Revolutionary Party

The new Revolutionary Workers Party stands before the Canadian workers as the only revolutionary party in the country, the only party untainted by class collaboration, by support of imperialist war. The RWP alone has the revolutionary Marxist program that can guarantee victory in the struggle of the Canadian workers for socialism. The RWP alone bases itself firmly on the elementary Marxist principle of workers' internationalism.

The foundation of the Revolutionary Workers Party of Canada is a great achievement, but it is only the first step. The issue in the world today is clear—either socialism or atomic annihilation. If the workers of Canada are to achieve socialism and escape the horrors of atomic war they must build quickly on the foundations already laid. They must build the Revolutionary Workers Party, the Canadian section of the Fourth International.

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10-15-3

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

# LABOR CHALLENGE

VOL. II NO. 18 - MID-OCT. 1946

10-15-4

Our aim is the full material and spiritual liberation of the toilers and exploited through the socialist revolution. Nobody will prepare it and nobody will guide it but ourselves. The old Internationals—the Second, the Third, that of Amsterdam, we will add to them also the London Bureau—are rotten through and through.

now to storm earth and heaven.  
LONG LIVE THE SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES!

LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

Coyoacan, D.F.  
October 18, 1938.

LEON TROTSKY.

"vourgeois politicians.—(Left-Wing) Communism, 1920.)

Not a single class in history achieved power without putting forward its political leaders and prominent representatives who were able to organize the movement and lead it.

It is far better that ten men who carry on work shall not call themselves members of the Party (real workers do not hunt for titles) than that one chatterbox shall have the right to be a member of the Party. Speech at the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, 1903.)

# TORONTO MEETING GREETS LAUNCHING OF RWP

By JOE ROSE

TORONTO, Oct. 7.—The first public meeting of the Revolutionary Workers Party was held here on Sunday, October 6, at the Labor Lyceum. A group of about seventy workers attentively listened to the speakers outline the program, perspective and aims of the new revolutionary party, which was founded on the program of the working-class newspaper *Labor Challenge*. The speakers included Tom Bradley (former CCF\* organizer) from Vancouver; Murray Dowson, editor of *Labor Challenge*; Ross Dowson, National Secretary of the Party.

Presiding over the meeting was George Stanton from British Columbia. He spoke of the burning necessity for the existence of such a party. He briefly outlined the events leading up to the foundation of the R.W.P. in its recent convention and sketched the treacherous role of Social Democracy and Stalinism. He pointed out the inability of the CCF and the LPP to solve the problems of the working class which could only be resolved in the overthrow of Capitalism, the aim of the Revolutionary Workers Party.

Tom Bradley, the first speaker, was one of the leaders of the recent split from the CCF in Vancouver. Twenty-one years of his life has been spent in championing the cause of the working class. The principled struggle he lead was a fight against the policies of the CCF leadership who are already lining up their party to support the next imperialist war.

## ON THE NEED FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Comrade Bradley exposed the role of the Social Democratic parties especially during the two world wars, how each time these parties dropped their peacetime opposition and scampered to the support of their respective warlords. He showed how the first world war marked the first great convulsion in the death agony of capitalism. The imperialists attempting to cover-up their fight for markets, came out with such honeyed slogans as "the war to end all wars" and with the hypocrite creation of the League of Nations.

He told how they lulled the masses into a sense of false security with their disarmament program and the creation of the cult of "war loving nations" as opposed to "peace-loving nations." He said, "Competition for markets leads to wars and not sentimental reasons," the great lessons that the previous wars taught us prove that "there cannot be an elimination of wars without the elimination of capitalism."

He reiterated the need of a revolutionary party, "in the only country that had a revolutionary



GEORGE STANTON

party, Russia . . . the workers were successful for this reason mainly." He showed how, "in 1902, Lenin built a party within a party . . . for the purpose of overthrowing capitalism because the Social Democratic party diluted its revolutionary content until it was a mere tool of imperialism.

## PROGRAM OF R.W.P. OUTLINED

Murray Dowson, editor of *Labor Challenge*, the second speaker, outlined the program of the new party. He reported the past history of the Trotskyist movement in Canada. How its program then, due to the nature of the movement, of necessity existed mainly as an abstraction to most workers. That only the most politically advanced had understood its nature. But the abstraction became a reality. In Russia because the bureaucracy

had buried its internationalism and pursued the mirage of socialism in one country he pointed out that "the theory of socialism in one country has lead to socialism in no other country, not even in Russia."

"In Canada," he said, "we have seen a mass radicalization of the workers." The Canadian working class, however, is still politically immature in a period of impending war and revolutionary upheavals. Between the needs of the hour and consciousness of the workers there exists a deep gap. "Our Party brings to the Canadian Workers a transitional program to bridge this gap . . . It is a program that meets the needs of the hour."

He referred to among other points in the program to the demand for a sliding scale of wages which when included in union contracts would enable wages to rise automatically with the rising cost of living. For the housing shortage he called for a billion dollar building campaign, the amount now being spent for military purposes; "Not one cent for war, a billion dollars for workers homes!"

## SPEECH OF NATIONAL SECRETARY

The final speaker of the evening was Ross Dowson, National Secretary of the R.W.P. He told of the great struggles that hammered out our program, its evolution and final culmination with the creation of the Fourth International by Trotsky. He said, "The history of our movement has been the his-

tory of struggle for the correct program against all attempts to revise, distort and sell out its ideas . . . which alone can solve the crises of mankind."

He repudiated the idea that the struggle between Trotsky and Stalin was one for personal power. He stated it was a battle, "against the growing and parasitic bureaucracy, the distortions and perversions of Lenin's program and the corruption of the Communist International . . . events have confirmed conclusively the correctness of Trotsky's struggle." He pointed out that due to revisionism, "the Soviet Union . . . is in the grip of an internal crisis which threatens to upset her nationalized economy, the sole remnant of the great October revolution."

Regarding the role of the CCF and LPP he had this to say. "We have no illusions about the influence these perfidious parties have on the minds of the Canadian workers," and comparing them with "the mass movements erected by the German Social Democrats and Stalinists which pale their achievements here into insignificance, burst like a pricked balloon before the jackboots of Hitlerism, so too in Spain, Italy and so forth. Why? Because they were corrupted with the false policy of class collaboration."

## JOIN THE R.W.P.

The building of the party he characterized as, "a race against time," because "the ashes of World War II are not yet cold, but the imperialist warmongers are lining up for another bloodbath." Finally he called to the workers, "Each one of us bears

a part of the future of mankind on his shoulders. Each of us can put his strength and abilities to the service of humanity. A whole new life opens up for the worker inside the revolutionary party. For the only life worth while is a life dedicated to the struggle against capitalism. Join the Revolutionary Workers Party, join in the struggle against capitalist barbarism for a socialist world!"

The meeting concluded with the spirited singing of the "Internationale."



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10-15-5

# The Historic Origins of Trotskyism And Its Meaning to Workers Today

By MURRAY DOWSON

It was 18 years ago, in 1928, that the banner of Trotskyism was first raised in Canada. At the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, Maurice Spector, delegate from the Communist Party of Canada, along with James P. Cannon, delegate from the Communist Party of the United States, managed to obtain a copy of Leon Trotsky's criticism of the draft program of the Communist International. It was on the basis of this document that they began a struggle on this continent for the principles of revolutionary internationalism within the ranks of the Communist Parties.

At that time the program of our movement was one of reform of the Third International. It consisted, in essence, of a fight to bring the movement back from the false nationalist theory of "Socialism In One Country" to the correct international position of Lenin.

Those who gathered around the program of the International Left Opposition, as our movement was known in its earliest period, were expelled from the Communist Party and forced to carry on from the outside. In spite of terrific obstacles they managed to spread their ideas among the most advanced elements of the labor movement. But to the overwhelming majority of the workers, outside of the Communist Parties and even to many of the rank and file of these parties, our program at that time seemed an abstraction, dealing with issues remote and far away.

**PIONEER WORK**

Only the most advanced workers could see that we were not merely splitting hairs but were dealing with fundamental programmatic questions—questions of life and death for the revolutionary movement. Gradually by ones and twos these workers joined and the Canadian Trotskyist movement was built by our pioneers. Among them were such fighters as Jack MacDonald, former National Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, who remained true to his principles in those difficult days until his death early in the Second World War. Even those who fell by the wayside, whose fighting hearts were weaker than their heads, must be remembered for the fact that they preserved, in this country, the principles of revolutionary Marxism.

We have come a long way since those early days, now our movement is firmly-established on an international scale. This was only achieved after a terrible test by fire during the war. We were able to meet this test because of the correctness of our program.

Our program is the program of the Fourth International. Today it no longer appears as an abstraction that can be understood only by the most advanced elements. For now it is completely rounded form it deals with and answers every vital need of the toilers who struggle for emancipation.

**HOW THE PROGRAM WAS HAMMERED OUT**

When the Trotskyists set out to build an independent movement, in 1934, after they had proven that the parties of the Communist International could no longer be reformed, they built well. Basing themselves on the bed-rock of Marxism which had guided all

their previous actions, they forged the program of Transitional Demands. This program contained in the document "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International" can be understood by every worker.

Various aspects of this program have been dealt with from time to time in our paper. It is now only necessary to deal with a few aspects of this program to illustrate the truth of the above remarks.

The war was a demonstration on a gigantic scale of the continuing decay of capitalism and its descent into barbarism. The destruction and havoc created by this monstrous blood-letting solved none of the problems of this rotten system. Instead it left a whole continent in ruins—ruins which capitalism can not rebuild. Now the imperialists are preparing another war; a war that may wipe out all humanity. Already the seven years of war prosperity on this continent shows signs of coming to an end in the worst crisis in the history of modern society. For the parasitic ruling class the only solution is in driving down still further the workers' standard of living and preparing once again for war.

**THE BRIDGE TO THE MASSES**

These are the realities that face the working people of Canada today. But the political consciousness of the masses lags behind the needs of the hour. As yet only a few realize that the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism is the solution. And it is here that the transitional program of the Fourth International shows its superiority. For we have worked out the program to bridge the gap between the needs of workers and their consciousness of those needs.

Only the mobilization of the workers to struggle as an independent force against capitalism as it affects them can lead the struggles of the workers on to a higher plane. This is exactly what our program aims to do. Translated into slogan form we call the workers to give a working class answer to capitalist militarism and war. The slogans: Take the war-making powers out of the hands of



MURRAY DOWSON

Parliament! Let the people vote on the question of war or peace! Against capitalist conscription! Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under the control of the trade unions; and others raised by our paper all lead towards strengthening the independent role of the workers and raising their political level.

More than that the struggle for such demands as we raise against the war preparations and against price rises, such as the sliding scale of wages, are not only understood by the workers and can rally the masses behind them but their realization strikes at the very heart of capitalism itself. For they raise the question of workers control of the armed forces, industry and the whole country in the sharpest manner.

Our task is to take this program to the workers. We are confident that once they know it, it will become in their hands a program of action which will lead to victory.

10-15<sup>th</sup>-6

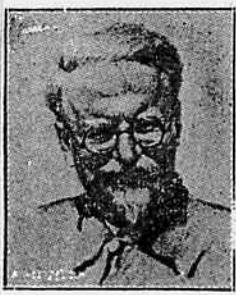
# Trotsky — On the Founding of the Fourth International

On October 28, 1938, an inspiring mass meeting in New York celebrated the founding of the Fourth International as well as the tenth anniversary of the Trotskyist movement on the American continent. American imperialism would not permit Trotsky to be present at that memorable celebration. But an electrical transcription of Trotsky's

speech to the meeting helped to bring him closer

Trotsky never wasted words; the celebration became for him the occasion to press home two fundamental thoughts. First, the unique nature of the revolutionary party and the relation between the individual and the party.—Editor.

## Dear Comrades and Friends:



TROTSKY      the war-like gestures of the totalitarian chiefs, the diplomatic intrigues, or the pacifist congresses.

Both events will enter history as important milestones. No one has now the right to doubt that.

It is necessary to remark that the birth of the American group of Bolshevik-Leninists, thanks to the courageous initiative of Comrades Cannon, Shachtman and Abern, didn't stand alone. It approximately coincided with the beginning of the systematic international work of the Left Opposition. It is true that the Left Opposition arose in Russia in 1923, but regular work on an international scale began with the Sixth Congress of the Comintern.

## Work Began in 1928

Without a personal meeting we reached an agreement with the American pioneers of the Fourth International. Then, in 1928, began that collective work which after ten years led to the elaboration of our own program recently adopted by our International Conference. We have the right to say that the work of this decade was not only persistent and patient, but also honest. The Bolshevik-Leninists, the international pioneers, our comrades across the world, searched the way of the revolution as genuine Marxists, not in their feelings and wishes, but in the analysis of the objective march of events. Above all were we guided by the preoccupation not to deceive others nor ourselves. We searched seriously and honestly. And some important things were found by us. The events confirmed our analysis as well as our prognosis. Nobody can deny it. Now it is necessary that we remain true to ourselves and to our program. It is not easy to do so. The tasks are tremendous, the enemies—innumerable. We have the right to spend our time and our attention on the jubilee celebration only insofar as from the lessons of the past we can prepare ourselves for the future.

## The Party Is Everything

Dear friends, we are not a party as other parties. Our ambition is not only to have more members, more papers, more money in the treasury, more deputies. All that is necessary, but only as a means. Our aim is the full material and spiritual liberation of the toilers and exploited through the socialist revolution. Nobody will prepare it and nobody will guide it but ourselves. The old Internationals—the Second, the Third, that of Amsterdam, we will add to them also the London Bureau—are rotten through and through.

The great events which rush upon mankind will not leave of these outlived organizations one stone upon another. Only the Fourth International looks with confidence to the future. It is the world party of Socialist Revolution! There never was a greater task on the earth. Upon every one of us rests a tremendous historical responsibility.

Our party demands each of us, totally and completely. Let the philistines hunt their own individuality in empty space. For a revolutionary to give himself entirely to the party signifies finding him self.

Yes, our party takes each one of us wholly. But in return it gives to every one of us the highest happiness: the consciousness that one participates in the building of a better future, that one carries on his shoulders a particle of the fate of mankind and that one's life will not have been lived in vain.

The fidelity to the cause of the toilers requires from us the highest devotion to our international party. The party, of course, can also be mistaken. By common effort we will correct its mistakes. If its ranks can penetrate unworthy elements. By common effort we will elevate their revolutionary stands who will enter its ranks tomorrow will probably be deprived of necessary education. By common effort we will elevate their revolutionary level. But we will never forget that our party is now the greatest lever of history. Separated from this lever, everyone of us is nothing. With this lever in hand, we are all.

## We Cannot Be Frightened

We aren't a party as other parties. It is not in vain that the imperialist reaction persecutes us madly, following furiously at our heels. The assassins at its services are the agents of the Moscow Bonapartist clique. Our young International already knows many victims. In the Soviet Union they number by thousands. In Spain by dozens. In other countries by units. With gratitude and love we remember them all in these moments. Their spirits continue to fight in our ranks.

The hangmen think in their obtuseness and cynicism that it is possible to frighten us. They err! Under blows we become stronger. The bestial politics of Stalin are only politics of despair. It is possible to kill individual soldiers of our army, but not to frighten them. Friends, we will repeat again in this day of celebration . . . IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO FRIGHTEN US.

Ten years were necessary for the Kremlin clique in order to strangle the Bolshevik party and to transform the first Workers' State into a sinister caricature. Ten years were necessary for the Third International in order to stamp into the mire their own program and to transform themselves into a stinking cadaver. Ten years! Only ten years! Permit me to finish with a prediction: During the next ten years the program of the Fourth International will become the guide of millions and these revolutionary millions will know how to storm earth and heaven.

LONG LIVE THE SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES!

LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

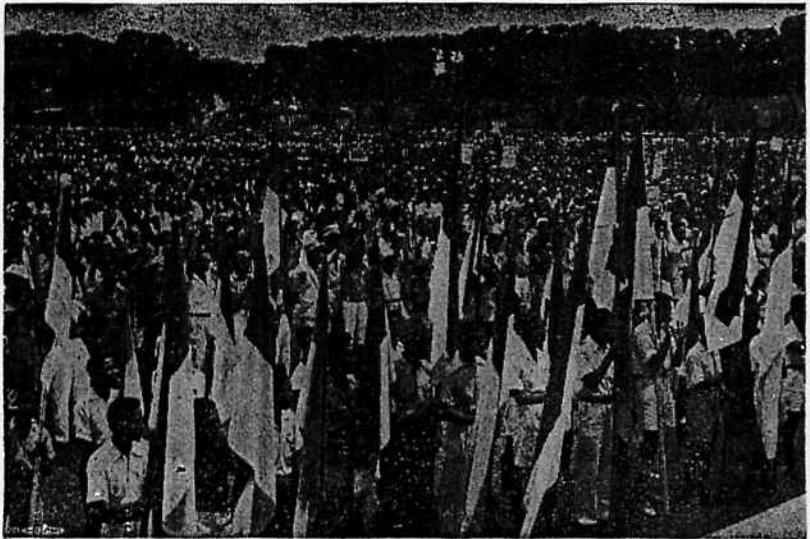
LEON TROTSKY.

Coyoacan, D.F.  
October 18, 1938.

# LABOR CHALLENGE

VOL. II NO. 19 - November 1946

## Fighters for Freedom of Indonesians



A vast crowd massed behind the colors of the Indonesian Republic attending a youth meeting in Java about a year ago. Few of these fighters for independence had even rifles with which to defend themselves against American tanks and planes manned by British and Dutch troops.

(See stories on this page for latest developments.)

11-01<sup>ST</sup>-1

## DUTCH SOLDIERS AND WORKERS DEFEND INDONESIANS' STRUGGLE BY TWO DAY GENERAL STRIKE

(Special to Labor Challenge)

AMSTERDAM, Sept. 27. — Widespread indignation against the Dutch government's suppression of the Indonesian struggle for independence led last week to organized protest movements of soldiers culminating in mass demonstrations last Saturday and a general strike in this city which began on Monday and lasted until Tuesday night.

During the second week in September, the soldiers at the Harderwijk camp near Amsterdam were informed that they were to embark for Indonesia. According to the Dutch constitution, only volunteers may be shipped overseas for military duty. The soldiers, protesting the government order which was issued under a wartime emergency decree, bluntly refused to go.

### FORM COMMITTEE

They formed a committee, representing 150 men at the beginning, and went to the Communists' (Stalinist) Party headquarters to get aid in protecting their constitutional rights, particularly since some of them were members of the CP. The Stalinist leaders—whose only program of action to aid the Indonesian struggle has been a campaign of writing letters to Parliament—refused all help. The soldiers' committee thereupon turned to the other workers' organizations.

Last week the soldiers' committee issued two leaflets—one addressed to their fellow soldiers and the other to the workers of Amsterdam.

The first leaflet called on the soldiers for action against shipment to Indonesia, but urged them to, refrain from individual actions of resistance to government orders, explaining that it was the duty of class-conscious worker-soldiers to stay with their comrades and persuade the majority of their views.

This leaflet also urged the soldiers, if they were sent to Indonesia, to fraternize with the workers and peasants of that country fighting justly for independence.

The second leaflet called on the dock-workers in particular and the unions in general to support the cause of the soldiers and to demonstrate their disapproval of the imperialist aims of the government by striking against embarkation orders.

### TREMENDOUS IMPRESSION

Both leaflets created a tremendous impression in the city particularly when they were distributed by rank-and-file soldiers and placarded on the walls of the city.

Street meetings were held throughout the city under the auspices of the soldiers' committee. Soldiers and workers responded with a mass sentiment of sympathy. In the course of demonstrations Saturday night, one soldier was killed in clashes with the military police.

The soldiers' committee grew constantly. Indignation spread with the brutal police attacks on the demonstrators. On Monday morning the tramwaymen of Amsterdam went on strike. Tuesday morning they were followed by the municipal workers, dockworkers and printing trades workers. By Tuesday afternoon the strike was general.

At the height of the action the Stalinists were forced to recognize and to join in the general demands. At a mass meeting called under their auspices in Amsterdam, the demand for the cessation of hostilities in Indonesia and the halting of troop shipments was strongly raised.

The Stalinists promised to bring

## Danger of Murder Faces Tan Malakka And Left Leaders

AMSTERDAM, Sept. 27. — "Tan Malakka, Soebardjo and 20 others, who are not Communists but so-called Trotskyists, and who are acting with the political aim of maintaining chaos, will be prosecuted within a short time. It is probable that a number of them will be sentenced to death."

The above was a statement made at a press conference here by Frans Goedhard, former Stalinist and present Partij van de Arbeid (Labor Party) member of Parliament, on his return from a recent trip to Indonesia,

It is feared here that the Sjahrir government of Indonesia will not hesitate to murder Tan Malakka and other working class leaders if that would facilitate a rotten compromise with Dutch imperialism.

### BEHIND SCENES

Recent reports, including an AP dispatch from Batavia on Sept. 26, assert that the Dutch imperialists are working behind the scenes to arrange recognition of the Sjahrir group as a "de facto" government.

The stubborn refusal of Dutch to do just that in the past lends weight to the fears here that a deal is being worked out which may include the suppression by both the Dutch and the Sjahrir government of all working class revolutionary elements in Indonesia.

## Bolivian Trotskyists Once Again Active

The Bolivian Trotskyists, long separated from the mass movement by repressions and imprisonment, are again in the forefront of the workers' struggles in Bolivia, and may elect candidates for the Parliament in some sections of the country this year. This was revealed in the August issue of Revolucion, organ of the Marxist Workers Group (Trotskyist) of Peru.

Since the overthrow of Villaruel, the Trotskyists in Bolivia have been steadily reestablishing contact with the workers. On Aug. 25, they were able to hold a meeting of 2,000 workers to commemorate the Sixth Anniversary of Leon Trotsky's death.

up the issue in Parliament and on the basis of that promise the workers and soldiers agreed to call off their strike for the present. But both workers and soldiers are on guard against possible victimization by the Dutch capitalists and their government.

### RCP SUPPORT

The Revolutionary Communist Party, Dutch section of the Fourth International, was the first workers organization and the only one among the political parties to openly proclaim its sympathy with the views of the soldiers and for fraternization between them and the workers.

# What Kind of Organization Do The Workers Need? CCF or RWP?

In the last issue of *Labor Challenge* we dealt with certain misrepresentations of our program which appeared in an editorial in the September 19, issue of the British Columbia *CCF News*. This article from another important angle. We can best introduce the subject by quoting directly from the CCF editorial.

"To be successful, direct mass action must be led by a well-disciplined, ruthless, authoritarian party, wielding unquestioned authority and exacting implicit and unquestioning obedience. Such a party will, if successful, by its very nature impose a ruthless and despotic rule. To imagine any other outcome is to fly in the face of all common sense and all the accumulated evidence of history."

"Our Trotskyist friends are virulent in their condemnation of just this development in the Soviet Union which they describe as a 'degenerate workers' state.' With an astonishing naïveté they appear to think this development in the USSR is an historical accident due to the unfortunate rise to power of unprincipled scoundrels, rather than the logical and inevitable outcome of the revolutionary pattern in which the Soviet Union came into existence."

Every line in these two paragraphs contains a lie and sometimes two. The "accumulated evidence of history," democratic centralism, the organizational principles of the revolutionary Marxist movement, the most important events in the struggles of the workers and the scientific interpretation of them are shamelessly falsified. "Common sense" is dragged in to serve this slander.

Let us look at the facts. The Bolshevik party of Lenin showed, by its example, how to overthrow capitalism and seize power. No argument can deny that the October revolution was the only successful working class revolution in history. The party that lead this world shaking action was not an unprincipled group based on common dislikes and hates. It was formed on the basis of adherence to a common program. As Trotsky once said, "It is not the party that makes the program, but the pro-

gram that makes the party."

#### REVOLUTIONARY PARTY MOST DEMOCRATIC

The revolutionary party is organized on the principles of democratic centralism. At convention time or at other times set aside for this purpose, there is free and full discussion of all questions pertaining to the policy and line of action to be taken by the party. In the revolutionary party modelled on Bolshevik lines there is real democracy.

However, once a decision has been democratically arrived at, discussion ceases. The energies of the party are then directed towards putting into practice the policy adopted. All members, whether they agreed with the majority or not, must then carry out the decision.

Only such a party can demand and receive from its members the utmost sacrifice and devotion. The leadership is chosen by the convention on the basis of its ability, self-sacrifice and loyalty to the program of the party. There is absolutely no room for self-seekers or careerists in the revolutionary Marxist party.

Compare this form of organization to that of the CCF. In the CCF, as in all reformist parties, the rank and file and their opinions are ignored and suppressed when they conflict with those of the petty bourgeois leaders. Its leaders are not chosen by their loyalty to the program, nor are they responsible to the membership.

#### PROOF OF THE BUREAUCRACY IN THE CCF

This was proven, once again, at the recent provincial convention of the B.C. CCF. Angus McInnis, CCF leader and M.P., stated that he never had agreed with the foreign policy as outlined in the Regina Manifesto. He further stated that if the leadership was made responsible to the members for its actions, no respectable member of

parliament would remain within the party. David Lewis, CCF national secretary, made the statement that he was more interested in gaining a majority in parliament than in clarifying the program of the party.

This is one of the wide gulfs that separate the democratically organized revolutionary worker-party from the bureaucratic reformist party. The entire top leadership of the CCF is responsible to no one but itself. They do not take the party program seriously. In such a party there is plenty of room for opportunists and careerists who use it as a vehicle for their own personal ends.

The editors of the B.C. *CCF News* regard Stalinism as the legitimate product of Bolshevism. By the same "common sense" reasoning we might regard German fascism as the legitimate product of social democracy. We do not attribute the rise of the Stalin bureaucracy in the Soviet Union to an "historical accident due to the unfortunate rise to power of unprincipled scoundrels." Only the most politically immature could draw such a conclusion. Only those who are completely unacquainted with Trotskyism, or dishonest people who are attempting to fool the workers would attribute such a conception to us.

The Bolshevik party was not the only factor in the Russian revolution after the establishment of the workers state. This state reflected not only the thought and will of the Bolsheviks, the most advanced elements, but also the cultural level of the country, the social composition of the population, the pressure of a barbaric past and a no less barbaric world imperialism. The foremost leaders of the revolution explained, again and again, that socialism could not be built in one country alone. They foresaw that unless the workers were victorious in some of the more advanced countries that the workers' state would either be overthrown or degenerate. The latter was the case. This was no "accident" but was predicted by both Lenin and Trotsky.

#### THE REASONS FOR THE CCF POSITION

The leaders of the CCF pretend not to recognize the class nature of the Soviet Union and deny it is a workers state that has degenerated. They see only the ruthless and despotic rule of the Stalin bureaucracy. This complements their failure to see the capitalist

11-01<sup>st</sup>-2

#### CELEBRATE THE 29th ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

WITH

**The Revolutionary Workers Party**

In Toronto: Thursday, Nov. 7, 8 p.m.

#### POTEMKIN

Stirring film directed by Serge Eisenstein

Speech on  
"THE WAR PREPARATIONS AGAINST THE  
SOVIET UNION"

**Labor Lyceum**  
348 SPADINA AVENUE

In Vancouver: Wednesday, Nov. 6, 8 p.m.

Subject:

**The October Revolution & World War III**

Speakers from the Vancouver Branch RWP and  
Socialist Workers Party U.S.

**Hastings Auditorium**

# Excellent Response to Appeal for \$1,500 Sustaining Fund Drive

By PAUL KANE

The \$1,500 *Labor Challenge* sustaining fund drive is well under way. The second week of the campaign closed with a huge slice of the objective pledged and a substantial amount in cash already turned in by party branches and numerous friends across Canada. Every mail brings further reports of progress and donations from supporters.

The Toronto branch sprang into the lead by planking \$110.00 on the line in the first week. Joe Rose, the Toronto campaign manager, has informed us that almost \$450.00 in pledges have already been guaranteed. After assuring us that this was only the beginning, he remarked that, "lists of names of close sympathizers and friends have been gone over and comrades have been given assignments on this work. We expect to get some very good pledges and donations, and we are confident that we will do much more than just hold up our end. Friends and supporters who have been approached so far show a keen awareness of the important role *Labor Challenge* is playing and are quite anxious to give donations to aid in its maintenance and expansion."

As soon as the campaign was announced, Wiseton rushed in a money order for \$10.00 to register the very first donation. Our comrade there figures that much more can be raised in Saskatchewan and promises to do better. Just a few days later his expectations were more than fulfilled. One of our Saskatoon supporters sent in five dollars, and we have assurances of further good support.

#### Drive Under Way In West

Prince Rupert guarantees an over-the-top campaign and has made extensive preparations which promise to duplicate the excellent record they set in the campaign which made it possible to publish *Labor Challenge* as a twice monthly. Our Vancouver branch which held its first public meeting last

week has also made elaborate plans for raising funds through contacting sympathizers, holding socials, and so forth. A comrade in Milnes Landing writes us that he "feels safe in promising a minimum of \$15.00", and that he will do even better. Alberta comrades are getting down to work to put the campaign over the top.

Montreal has always been one of

our more loyal supporters. We have just received a letter from the Montreal comrades in which they tell us "to chalk up a pledge of \$250.00" for them.

As we go to press almost 60 per cent of the objective has been taken up in pledges, and a tenth of it already turned over in cash. This is an excellent start. But as our goal has been set higher than in any campaign that we have previously run, and we have given ourselves less time to reach it, all branches and *Labor Challenge* readers are urged to start a regular flow of money into the office now. Address all donations to *Labor Challenge*, 87 King St. W., Room 5, Toronto 1, Ont.

11-01-3

## Toronto Readers

Are Invited to Attend the

### SUNDAY NIGHT FORUMS

8 P.M.

November 10, 1946  
One Year of British Labor Party Rule

November 17, 1946  
(To Be Announced)

Auspices of The Toronto Branch  
REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY  
87 King St. W., Room 5  
Questions and Discussion

## MANAGER'S COLUMN

By GORDON JAMES

Since our last report both Vancouver and Toronto have been sending in a steady stream of new subscriptions and renewals. In the past few weeks Vancouver has rolled up a score of 13 six month subs and 2 one year subs and has laid plans to stabilize its subscription work by arranging canvassing mobilizations every other Saturday afternoon.

Ellaline Macdonald reports that last Saturday they were rained out and had to do the job on Sunday. "A few of us covered a section of about 95 wartime houses and obtained 6 six month subs, in addition one comrade sold a full book of tickets for a raffle which we are running in aid of the *Labor Challenge* financial drive. Two or three workers expressed a keen interest in our program and assured us that they would attend the first public meeting of the Party in Vancouver which we have arranged for this coming Thursday (Oct. 24)."

Vancouver doubled its bundle order of the mid-October issue so that they "could cover the packinghouse plants and other important factories". One of our staunchest Vancouver supporters sent in a list of subs that covers every

important industrial area across the country.

Toronto totalled up 15 six month subs and 4 one year renewals. Our tireless sub-getting team turned in nine of these after a short afternoon's canvass in a working class area. One of the canvassers tells us that, "at one place I called the fellow who answered the door was very eager to buy a sub. He had seen the paper at the shop where he worked and where we have some subscribers and had been intending to subscribe for some time."

The renewals that Toronto chalked up are returns from the first batches of subs that are expiring. Prince Rupert sent in six renewals with their last letter which also enclosed two six month subscriptions. Other subs have come in from many points scattered across Canada, Milnes Landing, Silverton, Moose Jaw, etc.

With this coming issue of the paper many of our new readers' subscriptions will expire. Watch the number on your address-plate and the number of the issue of the paper. If they coincide, send in your renewal right away so that you will not miss a single copy.

# Who Are The Romanticists and Who The Realists? CCF or RWP?

By DAVID WILLIAMS

In our first two articles answering the British Columbia *CCF News* editorial of September 19, entitled "Realities Versus Romance" we have explained the true position of the Revolutionary Workers Party on a number of points. We have exposed the statements of that editorial as slanders and contrasted the revolutionary position of the RWP with the reformist stand of the CCF on\* the questions of violence, public ownership under capitalism, socialist organization, etc. In this article we will deal with the question, "who are the realists and who are the romanticists?"

The *CCF News* editorial is evidently from the pen of a pseudo-left-wing apologist for the CCF. It states, "The CCF's program is (not) anything less than revolutionary because it is based on a severely practical consideration of actual existing conditions." But what are the actual existing conditions?

**ACTUAL WORLD CONDITIONS**

The slightest knowledge of the events of the last few decades is sufficient to see that we are living in an epoch of wars and revolutions—of violent and sharpening class struggles. Two world wars in as many generations, the worldwide economic depression that occupied the interval of armed truce between these wars, the revolutions that occurred in Russia, Germany, Hungary, Spain, China, etc., the rise of fascism, prove this. All major questions are now decided

by force or the threat of force.

Today, the colonial world is seething with revolt, while Anglo-American imperialism prepares feverishly for another war in an attempt to solve the economic crisis that confronts it. Europe lies in ruins and can only be rebuilt on socialist foundations. Capitalism is leading humanity not forward but downward to barbarism.

**CANADA CANNOT ESCAPE**

Even the wealthiest capitalist countries of the American continent cannot escape the effects of the world embracing crisis. Here it is felt in the form of inflation which goads the workers into bitter strike struggles. Already the unmistakable signs of the fast approaching post-war depression appear on the horizon.

The first round of the strike wave which began immediately after V-J Day has ended in big victories for the workers. This wave of strikes demonstrated a new solidarity among the working class and a growth in class consciousness. The demonstrations of the Canadian soldiers at Aldershot, the great American G.I. protests, the seizure of vacant housing by veterans indicates this development takes in the most virile sections of the workers—the youth.

The capitalist class on this continent has reached the summit of its power and wealth when capitalism on a world scale is on the decline. Moreover, it is facing at home a young and powerfully organized labor movement. The objective conditions internationally are driving capitalism toward war as the only solution to its problems.

**PROGRAM OF CCF**

What is the program of the CCF in relation to these indisputable conditions? The CCF leaders preach such outworn pacifist nostrums as disarmament and collective security when they are not ostrich-like burying their heads in the sand and attempting to ignore international problems. They spread the fatal and utopian illusion that capitalist war can be stopped while capitalism still exists.

To meet these revolutionary conditions the CCF has no revolutionary program as the pseudo-left-wing editor of the B.C. *CCF News* likes to pretend. This is proven by programmatic statements of authoritative CCF leaders. E. B. Jolliffe, Ontario political leader of

the CCF has stated: "Socialist (read CCF) leadership is constantly required to be both reformist and socialist... It will tax the ingenuity of our members to keep in sight their objectives and at the same time do a good job as doctor and caretaker of the present system."

This is the real program of the CCF which attempts to channel the struggle of labor into the blind alley of reformist parliamentarianism while the major problems of the workers are decided in revolutionary mass actions. The program of the CCF is not realistic, nor revolutionary, nor based on actual conditions. It is based on wishful thinking, romanticism and outmoded liberal reformist theory.

**WHO ARE THE REALISTS?**

Who then are the realists? If we accept the above synopsis of conditions as they are today, and who can dispute it, then obviously only the revolutionists are realists. The party of the revolutionary-socialists is the Revolutionary Workers Party, Canadian section of the Fourth International.

The program of our party is Marxism or scientific socialism. It is based on the accumulated experience of the international working class and has been hammered out in struggle and adopted by the democratic Congresses of the Fourth International, the world party of the socialist revolution. The RWP in convention has adopted this program to Canadian conditions. It is realistic because it is based on actual conditions which are essentially revolutionary. It is practical because it alone answers the present needs of the workers and leads them forward to the overthrow of capitalism.

**LESSONS OF HISTORY**

What are the lessons of the experience of the working class? One thing is crystal clear. If the workers do not break from reformism they will suffer defeat at the hands of victorious fascism. Far from being realistic socialists, the CCF professors and parliamentarians in time of crisis rush to the defense of their own capitalist class like their social democratic counterparts in Great Britain and elsewhere.

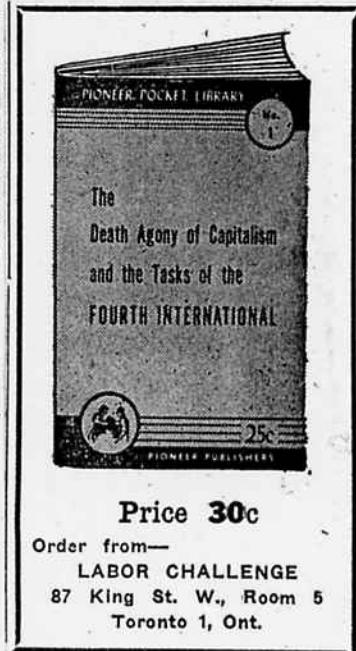
Just as the CCF leaders, contrary to the program of their party, supported the last capitalist war and peddled the lie that it was a war against fascism, they are preparing their party for support of the third imperialist world war. This is the meaning of the so-called CCF foreign policy, their support of UNO which is dominated by the imperialist Anglo-American bloc, and their statements against the "danger of left-totalitarianism." The nationalist policy

of the CCF can only lead to further defeats for the workers. Today in a world made smaller by jet-planes, rockets and atomic bombs, revolutionary internationalism is the only realistic policy for the workers. It alone can save humanity from the danger of atomic destruction in the next capitalist war.

Only blind dreamers can continue to seriously speak of the gradual evolution of society to socialism by means of piece-meal reforms when all around them the workers are forced into the sharpest struggles in the fight to maintain even their present inadequate standard of living. Practical socialists must base themselves on the actual lessons of the class struggle.

The CCF leaders and their program can be considered practical in only one sense. They are practical men when it comes to substituting opportunism for socialist policy in order to get into office.

The RWP is the only practical socialist party in Canada. Only its program is based on the realities and answers the problems confronting the toiling people. There is a place in its ranks for all farsighted practical socialists.



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Toronto 1, Ont.

11-15<sup>th</sup>-1

## GREEK TROTSKYISTS DEBATE PROGRAM WITH STALINISTS

(Special to Labor Challenge)

ATHENS, Greece, Oct. 14.—The first official debate ever held in Greece between the Communist-Internationalist Party (Fourth International) and the Communist (Stalinist) Party took place yesterday. The Trotskyist and Stalinist speakers debated "the domestic situation in Greece and the duties of the working class."

The monarchist government tried to prevent the debate by withholding permission for a public meeting. Only after great pressure from the workers did the Minister of Public Order grant a permit — and then he confined the meeting to a small hall.

The Stalinist spokesmen blamed the British for the frightful conditions in Greece. They held that no class struggle is possible so long as British troops remain.

### TROTSKYIST POSITION

The Trotskyist speakers flayed the policy of class collaboration which was followed by the Stalinist Party during the war. This policy of betrayal, explained the Trotskyists, placed the mass movement at the mercy of the Greek capitalists and foreign imperialism.

The tragic consequences of this policy, declared the Trotskyists, can be seen in the present furious attack against the toiling classes, since it gave the reaction an opportunity to reorganize its forces.

The Trotskyists outlined the Marxist method of fighting British imperialism and its local tools. They advocated organizing and leading the toilers in their struggle for better conditions and higher wages. They advocated explaining to the British soldiers

and sailors the need for the international solidarity of the working people.

Finally they proposed a unit front of all working class parties around such issues as the dissolution of the puppet parliament and the election of a Constituent Assembly, the withdrawal of British troops, and the organization of factory and neighborhood committees of the workers.

After the speakers finished, five questions for each party were permitted from the floor.

In the organization of the debate, the Stalinists had insisted on limiting the audience to invitation. The Trotskyists wished to widen the attendance to all interested workers no matter what their party affiliation. The Trotskyists gave a number of their invitations to Stalinist workers.

The Stalinist leaders insisted on having the audience vote on which side had "won" the debate. The Trotskyists opposed this, as they held the value of the debate lay in the enlightenment which the presentation of conflicting views would give the workers. The results of a vote, said the Trotskyists, could easily be predicted since the majority of workers attending belonged to the Stalinist organization.

As was expected, the balloting gave 189 votes for the Trotskyists and 548 for the Stalinists.

This debate is the first of a series arranged to present the political and programmatic differences between the two parties.

11-15-2

# TORONTO AND VANCOUVER RWP CELEBRATE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

The Vancouver and Toronto Branches of the Revolutionary Workers Party both held meetings in celebration of the 29th anniversary of the great October revolution.

In Vancouver, approximately 35 workers came to Hastings Auditorium, on November 6, to hear the speakers of the RWP in the first public meeting of the Party in that city. The main speakers, Lloyd Whalen and R. W. Bullock, were well received and a sizeable amount of literature of the Fourth International was sold to the interested audience.

In Toronto, some 30 workers heard Ross Dowson, National Secretary of the RWP, speak at the Labor Lyceum, on November 7. T. J. Bradley, chairman made an appeal for workers to join the RWP as the only party carrying the banner of October and one recruitment was made at the meeting. Because of a slip-up in arrangements beyond the control of the Toronto branch, the showing of the film "Potemkin" had to be cancelled at the last minute. But in spite of this disappointment the meeting was carried through as scheduled.

Speakers at both meetings pointed out the lessons of the Russian Revolution for the Canadian working class. In 1917 the Russian workers under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky showed the world how the workers could take power and hold it. Now the gains of that great struggle were in danger of being completely wiped out by the

usurping Stalinist bureaucracy and the threat of a new capitalist intervention being prepared by the Anglo-American imperialists.

The necessity of building the RWP in Canada and the Fourth International throughout the world to fight against the danger of a third world war, defend the nationalized property of the USSR and overthrow world capitalism was the main theme of both meetings.

## Trotskyites Election Gains In France and U.S.

Early returns in the November 5, United States elections which swept the Republicans into power, indicate that the Socialist Workers Party candidates have substantially increased the vote received by the U.S. Trotskyites in the 1940 elections.

The SWP ran candidates in six states in preparation for the running of a Presidential campaign in 1948, if no national Labor Party is built by the trade unions in the next two years.

The next issue of Labor Challenge will carry a full account of the results of the U.S. elections and the campaign of the SWP. We will also report the gains registered by the French section of the Fourth International, The Parti Communiste Internationaliste, in the November 10 elections as well as analysing the election itself.

Don't miss the next issue of Labor Challenge!

11-15-3

# Toronto Leads in First Returns To Labor Challenge \$1500 Campaign

11-15-46

By PAUL KANE

The fourth week of the \$1,500 Labor Challenge sustaining fund drive finds the prairie provinces well out in the lead. Wileston put them out in front in the first week and the numerous donations that have continued to come in have maintained that splendid start. Enclosed with a short note which said that "it is encouraging to hear of the Revolutionary Workers Party being organized . . . best of luck," was a five-dollar bill from another Labor Challenge supporter in Saskatoon.

One of our Alberta comrades staged a live-wire campaign in his district and sent in \$10 to add to the Prairie total, three of it coming from a young worker in Edmonton. Along with an extensive book order from a small Alberta town came another ten dollar bill to help the workers' press along. This comrade assured us that he would give us more help as soon as the harvest is cleared up and he can get around to see people in the district.

A Vancouver Islander hails our drive: "I am glad to see that Labor Challenge has raised its sights in this campaign over last years. No doubt it has entailed a lot of sacrifice on the part of those comrades who took the initiative to launch Labor Challenge but the splendid sub record shows how well the idea was justified. In the coming year more workers must see Labor Challenge, must know that there is a way out from depressions, wars, and poverty. They must learn that there is a hope, socialism, and what is more how this socialist world can be attained. Enclosed is \$10 (sorry I can only get one zero working this time) towards the objective. I am glad to say that a friend told me yesterday that he would contribute \$5 as soon as a cheque arrives." Another B.C. worker who lives in an isolated community informs us that "I am not very good at dunning and it is difficult for me to get around, however I will do my best to give you a hand and I am sure the drive will be a great success."

Windsor, Ontario, confirmed the confidence of these B.C. workers by laying \$35 on the line and promising that they would send in another \$45 to our anti-war war-chest before the close of the campaign. Along with other numerous small donations from Ontario towns

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**Will You Help?**

The ominous and threatening cloud of war hangs over the entire globe. Starvation stalks through the streets of Berlin, Cairo and Shanghai. Race hatred takes its toll in Bombay and Jerusalem and rears its ugly head in America. Thousands of veterans from Halifax to Vancouver search for shelter for their loved ones. Workers lose eyes and limbs under the grinding pressure of the machine's drive for profits.

This is happening to us, to our friends and fellow workers. This minute a child dropped from its mother's lifeless arms into a gutter while a white sahib rode by in his limousine. This minute a worker lost his hand in a belching roaring machine and the stock market rose five points.

These things are and will continue to be until we organize in our vast numbers and take over the factories and governments ourselves. They will happen until the workers destroy the life-sapping leech of capitalism and establish socialism.

It will be a hard job and to do it we need support. We need people. We have a weapon, an organizer. It is our paper Labor Challenge. It must be read from coast to coast. Its fighting message must reach every worker in the country.

You read Labor Challenge. You agree with it. You want to put an end to this hell and suffering on earth. You want a better life and you have come to understand that this life can only come from the final victory of the working class.

Is it too much then to ask you to support Labor Challenge? Send us what you can afford. Send us as much as you can so that Labor Challenge can reach the ranks of those that have not yet seen it. Support the Challenge fund drive so that we can draw to our side as allies, all the poor, all the oppressed.

Your aid will help rip the price tag from a decent and healthy life and make it free to all. Send your dollars, even pennies to 87 King Street West, Room 5, or phone EL 9613 and a Labor Challenge fighter will call on you at your convenience. In Vancouver write or phone Ruth Bullock, 628 East 4th St., phone North 1987M, or Ellaline MacDonald, 3356 West 13th Street, phone Bay 7783Y. We will be glad to call around. Will you help?

came one from Crowland for \$2.00 from a worker who was on strike for over 100 days.

Montreal, Prince Rupert and Vancouver have not yet started to flood the office with returns on the large amounts that they have pledged. Both of the Toronto and Vancouver campaign managers have sent in reports of considerable progress. The Toronto manager has turned over \$257.00 of the \$500 that has so far been pledged and the branch is now beginning to raise its pledged amount. As of November 12th \$339.00 in cash has been turned over to the office, and \$1,010.00 of the \$1,500 objective has been pledged.

December the 15th is the date

that we have set to raise the entire objective and close the campaign. All of our loyal friends and supporters are earnestly requested to start making regular payments on their pledges at once so that the objective can be realized within the time limit. All of our readers are urged to send in their dollars and dimes to help Labor Challenge reach its goal and if possible go well over the top.

Address all donations to Labor Challenge, Room 5, 87 King Street West, Toronto 1, Ont.

**Toronto Readers**

Are Invited to Attend the

**SUNDAY NIGHT FORUMS**

8 P.M.

November 24, 1946  
VETERANS AND LABORDecember 1, 1946  
WHITHER EUROPE?

Auspices of The Toronto Branch  
REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY  
87 King St. W., Room 5  
Questions and Discussion

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# RIGHT TO STRIKE MENACED BY US

## Three LPP Members Quit; Join RWP

### Call for Support of F.I. In Statement to Members

Three members of the Vancouver Ginger Goodwin Labor Progressive Party Youth Club have just announced their resignation from the Stalinist movement. This breakaway, though small, is of great significance to the Canadian Labor movement.

For the first time in years the monolithic and case-hardened structure of the Stalinist movement has revealed a serious crack in its shell. In the past decade of dizzy and catastrophic twists and turns, that were engineered by the top leadership of the LPP, countless numbers of revolutionary fighters accumulated doubts became inactive and slipped into political oblivion. But unlike those workers who were unable to find their way through the maze of traps and pitfalls constructed by the Stalinist leadership these three have remained true to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. They have joined the Revolutionary Workers Party, Canadian section of the Fourth International. They have taken their place in the ranks of the only party that is dedicated to an uncompromising struggle against capitalist barbarism for the building of a socialist order.

These three revolutionaries, Lee Houtman, Habib Salloum, and Don Borland, all active members in the LPP youth movement, have been joined by Stan Stanton who is closely associated with them and whose statement we reproduce in the "Workers' Forum" column.

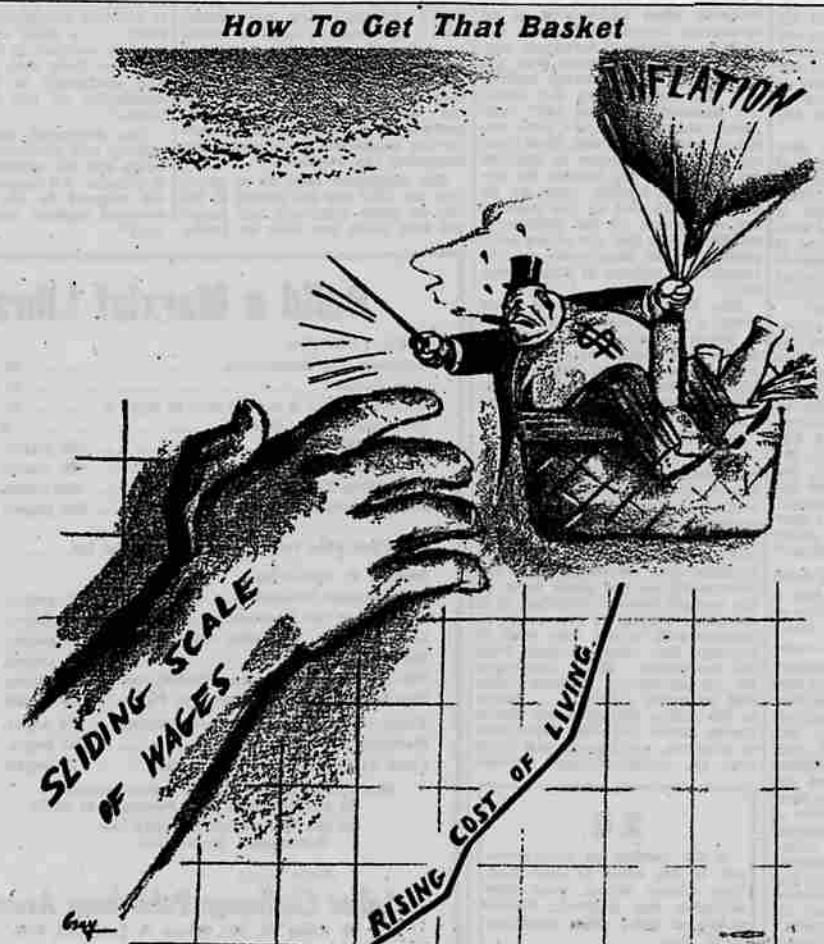
#### ISSUE STATEMENT

In a lengthy, well-documented statement which has been presented to the Ginger-Goodwin Club they brilliantly expose the betrayals perpetrated by the entire top leadership of the LPP.

The document commences with a short outline of the general world situation. They point out the world dominating position of the United States which "together with its junior partner, Great Britain, rules the capitalist world. However, the last few years has also multiplied the problems and crisis of western imperialism. Especially is this seen in the building up in the USA of conditions for a new depression, many times deeper than the last. This approaching collapse of capitalist economy is brought nearer by the shrinking of the areas open to bourgeois trade and exploitation, through the colonial revolts and the sharpening pressure of Soviet expansionism. The antagonism between private ownership and social production is nearing the breaking point... Hence the savage suppression of the colonial revolts, labor-baiting in the USA and Canada, and the 'get tough with Russia' policy. Unless the workers are able to seize power in the western countries, capitalist necessity will carry these policies through to their logical conclusion: the victory of fascism in the USA and Canada and an imperialist attack on the USSR for which the foundations have already been laid."

They go on to point out that the history of the labor movement since the first World War, "shows that the working class cannot accomplish its historic revolutionary

(Continued on page 3)



## WPTB To Give Raise To Landlords As Prices Soar Far Beyond Index

By JOE ROSE

All signs point to drastic rent increases as the next move in the "decontrol policy" of the government Wartime Prices and Trade Board. A recent ambiguous radio speech of Donald Gordon, WPTB chief, has been interpreted by The Financial Post, organ of Big Business and the real estate sharks, as giving the tip-off for an across the board percentage rent increase in the near future.

Even under the so-called freezing of rents, according to the lying government cost of living index, rents have gone up 12 per cent. The truth is that they have been raised much more and profit-gouging landlords have used all kinds of tricks to coin millions of dollars from workers and veterans desperate for homes. Some of these include: bonuses and rewards for houses and apartments, payment of a year's rent in advance, forcing tenants to buy a few sticks

### COST OF LIVING INDEX LIE

	Chain Store prices as advertised in Toronto papers	Aug. 1946 Jan. 1939	Per Cent Increase	Gov'ts Index
Round Steak Roast	24c lb.	45c lb.	83.3	77
Salmon	15c lb.	29c lb.	93.3	not given
Oranges, size 250	16c doz.	25c doz.	56.2	51
Plum Jam	19c 2 lbs.	27c 2 lbs.	42	32
Eggs Grade A Large	27c doz.	49c doz.	81	76
Butter	25c lb.	45c lb.	80	64.1

On the basis of the five above items (excluding Salmon) we find that the government cost of living index is 8.5 points lower than chain store prices in Toronto. The government figures are average prices for all Canada but Toronto food prices according to the same source are four points lower than the average food prices in Canada!

of cheap second-hand furniture at fantastic prices before renting, payment for all kinds of services, etc.

LANDLORDS MAKE

supposed to have increased only 7.2 per cent. The reason that these commodities remaining relatively stable in price is not hard to find. It is simply because a landlord

### 400,000 Striking Basic Rights of All

By D. WHITESIDE

In defiance of United States strikebreaking laws and President Truman's latest union-busting drive, some 400,000 soft coal miners are on strike, standing firmly by their slogan, "No Contract, No Work." The miners, organized in the AFL United Mineworkers, are fighting for a reduction in their 54-hour week with no reduction in pay and other concessions. Meanwhile, due to the fact that rising prices have wiped out the wage gains won in the strikes last spring, workers in steel, auto, meat packing, etc., are demanding new wage increases.

In a frenzied attempt to smash the miners' union UMW leader John L. Lewis, has been brought to trial, before a bosses' court on the charge of contempt, for terminating the contract signed last May 29 with J. A. Krug, U.S. secretary of the interior. The government claims that the breaching of the contract is unlawful during government possession of the mines. The UMW contends that a re-opening clause, contained in previous contracts with the operators, is continued in the government pact.

#### GOVERNMENT SEIZURE

The soft coal mines were seized by the federal government in an attempt to break the 53 day strike of the miners last spring under the provisions of the reactionary Smith-Connally Act. This Act makes it unlawful to strike against the government and permits the state to act as a strikebreaker in any dispute by taking possession of the industry involved.

The so-called "seizure" in no way interferes with the profits of the bosses or their powers of management. All it amounts to is the posting of a sign on the property which declares that the U.S. government is in charge. But it does compel the union to negotiate with the government and makes the continuation of any strike illegal.

Despite Truman's use of this law last May and his attempt to open some mines with the aid of troops, the miners were not ter-



Scenes in the Kentucky coal field

→ To page 2

# Statement of 3 LPP Members on Joining RWP

(Continued from page 1)

task unless it is led by a determined party. A party which is revolutionary in organization, theory, and program". Are the parties of the now defunct Third International capable of performing this task? "While history demands concrete energetic and principled preparation for the proletarian dictatorship they reply with reformism combined with nationalism. Each of them grovel at the feet of 'its own bourgeoisie' loudly denying any reflections on its own partisanship. The only international program they can conceive of is support of the capitalist thieves kitchen of the U.N. and the fantasy of Big Three Unity".

In a few deft paragraphs they sketch in the cause of the rise of the Stalin bureaucracy and the degeneration of the Comintern. "Due to the influence of the CPSU in the Third International it was soon transformed . . . from the party of the world revolution to a pressure group for the use of the Soviet bureaucrats in their manoeuvrings among the imperialist powers".

The need of "a new non-opportunist communist international has become as acute (today) as when Lenin and Trotsky founded the Third International. . . Fortunately the foundations of such an international, the Fourth International, have already been laid. The Canadian section of the F.I., the Revolutionary Workers Party, has just been founded. It is now the duty of every serious communist to help build the RWP into a powerful mass party leading the struggle of the Canadian proletariat."

#### ROLE OF LPP DURING THE WAR

The document then goes into a devastating analysis of the role of the LPP during the second world

can no longer be used to forestall wage increases, has announced that they will be disbanded by the New Year. But as if to demonstrate their true character to any who might still remain sceptical, even in their dying gasps they continue to act against labor. When the Millard leadership settled the steel strike they returned the matter of the Sydney five cent differential to the WLB. Despite all assurances that it was merely a matter of form the board to this day has not granted the five cent increase. The National Board has just upheld the Brown Bread Company's appeal against increases granted their employers by a regional board.

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If the number on your wrapper is the same or less than that shown above, your subscription has expired. Please renew at once, using blank on Page Two.

# Extra Push Needed Now To Put \$1,500 Sustaining Fund Over Top

By PAUL KANE

As our campaign went into its sixth week the indicator rose to an overall total of \$590.50 on hand. Two-fifths of the \$1,500 Labor Challenge sustaining fund objective has been raised and turned in. Some important areas which up until our last issue had remained unheard from have come through with flying colors to push the indicator to its present height.

This week Montreal forwarded \$125. These comrades who have always been staunch and loyal supporters of our press have now reached half their objective. Ruth Bullock who is our fund drive director in Vancouver, has broken a long silence and sent in some of the first returns from the work that these extremely busy comrades are doing. C.M. forwarded a \$2 donation to bring the Vancouver total up to \$32.00. Ruth writes us that: "We are going to approach a number of sympathizers for donations. Many of these people have

signified a desire to help Labor Challenge and we expect good results. An old friend of the Marxist press who is at present on board boat, will be returning shortly and we expect a good pledge from him. By the beginning of next week I expect to have more on hand to send in."

Harry Noakes mailed in the first returns from the small and isolated area of Magna Bay, B.C. He has added \$6 to the total made up of contributions from F.N., A.L. and himself and assures us that he will send in more later. A Nanaimo reader has also added \$2 to help keep the presses turning off Labor Challenge.

Since our last progress report Toronto has turned in another \$186.50 to push its total up to \$43.50 . . . not quite half of its objective. Joe Rose reports that "Several comrades who have been approaching friends and sympathizers have met with a warm response and have turned in sub-

stantial amounts. We expect much more aid from this source and everything seems to indicate that we will achieve our objective and possibly top it."

A Windsor comrade assures us that we can figure on a \$25 contribution from him. "It may be a little late arriving, but it will arrive just where I'll get the money I don't quite know, but I'll get it. I would like very much to be of greater assistance, but you know the terrible cost of living these days."

This is the spirit that maintains the workers' press. This is the spirit that has always permeated Labor Challenge campaigns and made them so successful. The total now stands at the \$590.50 mark. Keep the funds rolling in and we will not only make the objective by December 15, but go well past it. Keep them rolling in and the presses will continue to turn out Labor Challenge, so it may continue to spread its message of struggle and hope.

12-01-1946

# BIG INCREASE IN SWP VOTE INDICATES WORKER SUPPORT FOR U.S. LABOR PARTY

By WILLIAM BROWN

The November 5 elections in the United States, which swept the Republicans to victory in Congress and most state governments, represented a crushing defeat for the policies of the CIO Political Action Committee. At the same time, the greatly increased vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party (American Trotskyists) revealed the readiness of the workers to support genuine labor candidates.

In the most important election campaign in its history, the Socialist Workers Party ran candidates in six of the most important states. Ruled off the ballot in New York State, together with other minority parties by the capitalist courts on the basis of a technicality, the SWP was forced to conduct a write-in campaign. Reactionary election laws in Ohio and California necessitated the same type of campaign in these states also.

#### SWP VOTE INCREASES

Incomplete returns from Minnesota where Grace Carlson, one of the 18 imprisoned for opposition to the capitalist war by the "great democrat" Roosevelt, ran for U.S. Senate, indicate that the vote for the SWP will far exceed the vote received in the area in 1940. In that year more workers voted for the SWP than for the Socialist, Communist (Stalinist), and Socialist Labor candidates combined. In St. Louis County, which takes in the famous Mesabi iron ore mines, the vote for Carlson SWP was 170 per cent greater than in 1940. In New Jersey, Essex County, stronghold of reactionary Boss Hague, gave Alan Kohlman, SWP candidate for Governor 3,100 votes. Results from this single county indi-

cate that a big increase over 1940 results will be registered in this state.

The success of the campaign marks a great step forward for the United States Trotskyists. The greatly increased vote for the SWP, indicated by still incomplete returns, is a barometer of the increasing militancy of the American workers.

The election results can only be understood by an examination of the way in which various classes in the population voted, particularly the workers and middle class. It is plain that the middle class vote, both rural and urban, swung largely to the Republicans. A study of the voting in key industrial areas, however, reveals that the majority of the workers and their families continued to support the democrats.

There was no evidence that the efforts of the PAC to drum up support for so-called "progressive" Democrats aroused any enthusiasm among the workers. Nevertheless, they did not turn to the Republicans who appeared as the more openly reactionary and anti-labor of the two capitalist parties.

The real attitude of the voters to both parties was summed up by James Reston, New York Times



Daniel Roberts, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Washington State Senator, 31st District; Clara Kaye, Campaign Manager; Charles Swett, candidate for U.S. Senate, photographed in SWP Election Headquarters in Seattle. As yet final returns on the SWP vote has not been received for this state.

writer. Shortly before the election he wrote, "One feels, frankly, that if the people voted their true feelings and had two votes, they would cast one against the Democrats and one against the Republicans."

This is the explanation for the middle class swing to the Republicans. Discontented, and offered no leadership by the labor movement, the middle class expressed its protest against the government in power in the only way it understood—by voting for the other national party. The vote was a protest against the Democrats rather than for the Republicans.

The shift of the middle class exploded one of the favorite arguments of the PAC leaders against the formation of a Labor Party. The PAC and CIO bureaucrats had contended that the formation of a labor party would isolate the workers from the middle class and thus make possible a Republican victory.

Far from gaining the support of the middle class by hanging on to the coat tails of the Democrats, PAC leaders drove them right into the arms of the Republicans.

#### CIO LEADERS FAIL TO LEARN

That the CIO leaders are incapable of learning this lesson was demonstrated by a meeting in Washington on November 9 of 30 top leaders of the PAC sponsored Conference of Progressives. Insisting that they would continue

to work within the framework of Wall Street's two party system, they called for "the most effective liberal-progressive coalition ever brought together in the history of our country." The evident intention is to dilute still further the working class character of CIO political action with middle class leadership and influence, especially from the discredited and rapidly shrinking "New Deal" wing of the Democratic party.

The results of the election are bound to discredit still further, the policy of backing capitalist party candidates. While the workers recognized that the Republicans offered no better choice than the Democrats, the efforts of Henry Wallace, the PAC leaders and the Stalinists to paint the party of Bilbo, Rankin and Boss Hague in progressive colors, met with little response. The vote for the Socialist Workers Party indicated the growing desire of the workers for their own party.

Pressure from militant unionists for the formation of a labor party was strong even before the elections. Further blows of reaction, inevitable under either Republicans or Democrats, will enormously increase this pressure in the coming period. Formation of a labor party now, with a fighting program to answer the needs of the masses, can rally not only the workers but large sections of the middle class and smash the stranglehold of the capitalist parties in the 1948 elections.



Joseph Hansen, candidate for U.S. Senate, Farrell Dobbs, for Governor, and Milton Richardson for Lt.-Governor, are three of the five Socialist Workers Party candidates in New York State who were ruled off the ballot on a technicality, 25,000 workers signed their nominating petitions.

## CEYLON GENERAL STRIKE LED BY TROTSKYISTS FOR WAGE RAISE

From Socialist Appeal, England

A general strike took place in Ceylon during the last weeks of October in sympathy with those sections of the workers striking for higher wages and the right to organize in trade unions.

According to reports in the "Times" and the "Manchester Guardian," the strike was led by the Ceylon Trotskyists. The "Times" stated:

"The so-called Trotskyists who organized the strike also command road transport, gasworks and hospital services union which are expected to strike at any moment."

On 23rd September, the "Manchester Guardian" reported the arrest of Dr. Perera, a Trotskyist leader in Ceylon:

"The Ceylon strike leader, Dr. N. M. Perera, was arrested at dawn today and later released. A deputation of strikers received by the Governor refused to come to terms without Dr. Perera's attendance."

"Another Conference was held with the Governor in the afternoon at which Dr. Perera was present but the strike situation remained unchanged."

The bulk of the strikers were employed at Government-owned establishments, railways, postal

and electrical undertakings. The railway and electrical workers who came out on strike, were joined by 3,000 harbour workers, and they were joined by thousands of workers in essential government departments.

The fact that the strike developed into a general strike is an indication of the tremendous militant mood developing among all sections of the Ceylonese working class. A very important factor that betokens the likely success of the strike is the uncompromising leadership of the Ceylon Trotskyists, which unlike the reformist traitors at the head of the trade unions, will not capitulate to the government or sell the workers out.

There are in Ceylon two Trotskyist Parties, the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India (Ceylon Unit), official section of the Fourth International, and the Lanka Sama Samaj Party, of which Dr. Perera is a member. Fusion negotiations have begun between the two organizations.

## BRITISH TROTSKYIST ON TRIAL FOR FRATERNIZATION WITH POWS

LONDON.—What may prove to be an important test case and exposure of the British Labor Government's "re-education" of German prisoners of war is the coming trial of William Cleminson, a member of the Sheffield Branch of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British section of the Fourth International. Cleminson has been summoned to appear before the local court on the charge of distributing written material to German POWs.

A campaign calling for support and funds for a Defense Committee is being made by the RCP. Its circular to all trade unions and workers' organizations states:

"All workers who value the ideas of internationalism and working class solidarity, and who wish to assist the German socialists in their struggle against Nazi elements in the POW camps and in Germany, will protest against this prosecution. British socialists and anti-fascists must demand the right of fraternization between British workers and German POWs and the complete right of the latter to contact the British working class movement."

"We appeal to all workers interested in democracy and free speech to support us in this campaign and demand that the prisoners of war have the same access to the workers' press as

the capitalist press is allowed unhampered circulation in the POW camps.

"Demand that the prosecution be withdrawn and the Regulation (preventing fraternization) be lifted.

"Demand that POWs be allowed to mix with the workers and attend Labor and anti-fascist meetings."

The RCP has been particularly active in this campaign for fraternization and the right of German POWs to receive freely the publications of the workers' organizations. A number of Trotsky's important articles, including *Germany — What Next?* along with a regular paper, Solidarität, have been produced in the German language. This material has had a very wide circulation, and demands are far in excess of the amount available.

The elementary step of any Labor Government wishing to re-educate the German POWs and to assist them in their struggle against Nazi elements is to permit the free political intercourse of the socialist POWs. This case will bring the whole question sharply before the organized workers.

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# TORONTO!

## VOTE DOWSON FOR MAYOR! The Only Workers' Candidate

12-01-87-3

# LABOR CHALLENGE

Vol. II, No. 22 (29)

TORONTO, MID-DECEMBER, 1946

PRICE: 5 Cents

# VOTE LABOR-VOTE DOWSON MAYOR

## RWP Presents Program To Toronto Electors

### Introduction

This year's municipal elections are probably the most important in the history of Toronto. Thousands of citizens, veterans and workers, can not find any kind of shelter for themselves or their families. Meanwhile permits continue to be issued for non-essential and luxury building! Oppressive taxation and inflationary price rises are forcing down the living standards of the people, while Big Business rakes in the greatest profits in its peacetime history. These are the immediate issues in the municipal election.

Haunting the future of wage and salary workers, small homeowners and professional and small business men is the spectre of the postwar depression, predicted by a majority of capitalist economists for mid-1947. Ever present is the danger of third imperialist war and the atomic destruction of mankind.

In an attempt to divert the attention of the voters from the real issues of the election — housing, taxes, the milk price increase and other price rises — the reactionary majority of the Council, the political stooges of the Bay Street financiers, have injected the red herring of "cocktail bars". In addition, in order to hide their bankruptcy, they are once again launching a vicious red-baiting campaign aimed at all working class candidates seeking office.

The reactionary record of the Tory machine which backs Saunders is well-known. Its openly anti-labor policies include, attacks on the unemployed in the "hungry thirties," low wages and poor con-

ditions for hundreds of civic employees and the use of police against striking workers which was once again demonstrated in the recent Imperial Optical, Brown's Bread and Gutta Percha strikes.

In the mayoralty election, the working people are offered the choice between the Tory Saunders, the retired stockbroker, O'Hearn, or the candidate of the Revolutionary Workers Party, Murray Dowson, the only representative of the workers running for the highest office in the city.

Who controls City Hall, the workers through their own representatives, or the big banks, industrialists, real estate and mortgage companies through their stooges in both the capitalist parties, is of vital concern to all citizens. It is only necessary to pose the question to get the correct answer. The working people must control in the municipal field as well as in the national and provincial governments!

We believe it is our duty to give the wage and salary workers, the small homeowners, the professional workers and the small shopkeepers an opportunity to cast their ballots for a candidate that can truly represent them, instead of throwing their votes down the sewer of capitalist machine politics!

Therefore, the Revolutionary Workers Party, on behalf of working people of Toronto, have entered their candidate, Murray Dowson, in the mayoralty elections. He will present our program, the only answer to the needs of the people in the critical period ahead.

### 1. For Independent Working Class Political Action!

City politics are doomed to remain the almost exclusive monopoly of corrupt political machine bosses until the workers realize the necessity of challenging the capitalist candidates in the municipal elections as well as in Dominion and provincial elections. All the gains made by labor through decades of struggle are menaced by the Bay Street sharks until the working people put into office their own representatives. Labor must break with company unionism in politics!

If the workers of Toronto become

organized on the political field as they have in industry, they can fill all the municipal offices with men and women who really represent labor. Think how much easier it would then be to bargain effectively with the employers. Think how much easier it would be to safeguard the interests of the industrial and white-collar workers, the veterans and small home owners when the post-war depression strikes.

Break Bay Street's grip on City Hall! For a 100 per cent labor city council.

→ Program p.2

12-15<sup>th</sup>-1a

## Coal Strike Shows Need for United Action

### Bay Street's Decoy



## Labor's Candidate in Mayoralty Race Long Record in Workers' Movement

By ROSE BURKE

Thirty-one-year-old Murray Dowson, the candidate of the Revolutionary Workers Party for Mayor of the City of Toronto is a slim dynamic worker. When I interviewed him at the party headquarters at 87 King St. West, he told me proudly that, "The Trotskyist election program is the only fighting working class program in the campaign... One of the main issues confronting labor is the necessity to have its own representatives in the political field. Our party is presenting the only alternative to the capitalist candidate for the most important post in this city. The problem confronting the workers is: are they going to waste their vote on a stooge of Big Business or are they going to vote for a candidate of their own class to represent them?"

Knowing that the workers are always interested in learning more about their candidates I pressed Murray for information about his background and how he became interested in the labor movement. He was born in the West End of the city of Toronto but his family moved to York Township when he was 15 years old. "My

### Dowson Endorsed By Local 439, UAW

Murray Dowson, RWP candidate for mayor in the 1947 municipal elections, spoke for 10 minutes to the members of the



MURRAY DOWSON

### Dowson Endorsed By Local 439, UAW

Murray Dowson, RWP candidate for mayor in the 1947 municipal elections, spoke for 10 minutes to the members of the Massey Harris Local 439, UAW-CIO, at the regular membership meeting Sunday afternoon, December 8.

He outlined the main planks in the RWP election program and asked for support for his campaign for the mayoralty. He pointed out that he was the only workers' candidate running for mayor and stressed the necessity of labor having its own representatives in the City Council in the critical days that lie ahead. The members present gave him a very attentive hearing and his speech ended in a round of applause.

Later in the meeting, after Dowson and Alderman Dewar Ferguson, Ward 6, who was also given 10 minutes, left, the members of Local 439 endorsed the candidature of Dowson for mayor and Stewart Smith a candidate for Board of Control.

→ DOWSON p.2

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Editor, MURRAY DOWSON

## *Program from page 1*

### 2. For Subsidized Low-Rent Housing!

The capitalist politicians, during the war, promised the men in the forces and the workers at home, a new world—"The Four Freedoms". But today thousands of workers and veterans and their families do not have "Freedom From Want". They desperately need any kind of decent shelter.

In Toronto up to October 19, only 592 building permits of the 8,784 permits issued by the city were for dwellings. The rest were mainly for non-essential and luxury buildings. Saunders has refused to take the responsibility, offered him by Ottawa, for directing where the building materials, so plentiful for bank head-offices, theatres and factories and so scarce for homes, should go. As a result, his master, Big Business has grabbed the lion's share of construction material.

In the interests of the homeless veterans and workers, we demand a stop to the issuance of permits for non-essential and luxury build-

ing. The control of construction must be taken out of the hands of the servants of the bosses. They are not seriously concerned with carrying through any extensive plan of slum clearance and providing the thousands of low-rental workers dwellings, so direly needed by the workers and veterans.

Control of construction must be placed in the hands of the organizations of the construction workers, the people with the know-how, who alone can be trusted to plan and carry out a housing program for the working people.

The RWP candidate in office will bring pressure to bear on the Dominion government, to use the almost \$1 billion it has appropriated for war preparations for housing. Instead of permitting materials to be used for luxury building, build more hospitals to care for the sick!

Instead of renovating the Canadian National Exhibition, build modern day nurseries for the children of working mothers!

### 3. For the Municipalization of the Milk Distribution Industry!

Sky-rocketing prices are slashing the living standards of the people. Salaried workers, who in their majority are unorganized, have been the hardest hit for they have received few raises. The wage gains won by the organized workers, in the recent strike wave, are threatened with being completely wiped out by the sharp cut in the purchasing power of the dollar.

Striking at the health of the children, the milk monopolists have raised their prices almost 50 per cent in recent months. We advocate that the Council, which has done nothing about the milk price rise, take the distribution of this basic food away from the milk trust and run it as a municipal

enterprise. Thus the price of milk can be brought back to its former level by eliminating waste and super-profits. The people to do this job should be the organized workers in the industry who know its problems and will see that the jobs of the workers are protected by cutting down the hours of work with no loss in pay.

The wage gains of the workers can be protected by writing into all union agreements, a sliding scale or escalator clause to provide automatic wage increases with each increase in the cost of living. Wages and salaries should and must rise automatically with rising living costs! Let the city begin by granting this to its own employees.

### 4. Make Toronto A 100 Per Cent Union City!

An RWP candidate in the mayor's office would foster trade unionism, utilizing his power to break up the employer-police-court combination. We would fight against all curtailment of the right of mass picketing, use of the police against picket lines and for scab-herding. The wages, hours and

conditions of civic employees and their relations with our administration would stand as an example to all. They would set the norm for the conditions of all workers in the area. Our party and its candidate recognize not only collective bargaining but the right to strike.

(Continued on page 4)

## Program of RWP For Toronto 1947 Civic Election

(Continued from page 1)

### 5. Let All Over 18 Vote In Municipal Elections!

Tens of thousands of residents of Toronto are disfranchised by reactionary property qualifications limiting the right to vote in municipal elections. We demand the right to vote for all over 18 years in municipal, as well as in Dominion and provincial elections.

Against the two-year term for city council!

### 6. Tax the Rich, Not the Poor!

In the last seven years Big Business has rolled up the most phenomenal profits in its history. But their political servants in the Tory and Liberal parties have placed the main burden of taxation on the working-people—those least able to pay. The capitalist politicians seek office in order to perpetuate this condition.

The city raises the bulk of its finances from property taxation. In Toronto a large number of workers are small home owners. The RWP, therefore, advocates a graduated scale of property taxation, to place the chief burden of taxation on the homes of the wealthy and on their big business establish-

### 7. For a Socialist Society!

Capitalism has given mankind the agony of two world wars in a quarter century. Big Business is preparing for a third world war. So long as capitalism endures, depressions, unemployment, hunger and war will ravage the world. Only by taking industry out of the hands of the greedy profiteers and organizing it rationally according to the needs of the people is further progress possible.

The fate of civilization depends on the working class taking power and establishing a Workers' and Farmers' Government. In this mighty struggle the workers of Toronto can play a leading part. By setting out on the road of independent political action, they will by their example encourage the workers throughout the country. That is why this Toronto election is of great importance! That is why a vote for the Revolutionary Workers Party candidate, Murray Dowson, for mayor, will bring closer the socialist society of peace, plenty and prosperity for all!

### By "Labor Challenge" Here

Nanaimo, B.C.

Nanaimo Newsstand.

New Westminster, B.C.

Newsstand at B.C. Electric.

Toronto

Lichtman's, Bay at Temperance  
Newsstand at N.E. corner  
College and Bathurst.

Rohr's, Bloor W., at Yonge.

Vancouver

Smoke Shop, Homer and Pender  
Wilson's, opposite C.P.R.  
Dodson's Shoe Shine, Hastings St

*Murray Dowson*

*From p. 1*

background is not much different from hundreds of thousands of workers of my generation. It was in 1932 in York Township that I first became interested and active in the labor movement." He told me that his father had been a member of the International Typographical Union so that ever since he could remember he had been interested in the labor movement but what impelled him to become vitally concerned and active in the labor movement were the intolerable conditions confronting the thousands of unemployed in York Township. He then earnestly described the problems that confronted the one out of every four families who were on relief.

### EARLY YEARS IN THE MOVEMENT

"Although I was still in High School at the time I took an active part in the demonstrations and struggles of the unemployed for jobs and higher relief . . . later serving for a period as secretary of the York Township Workers Association of Ward Three." It was then that Murray became interested in the Socialist movement and joined the Young Communist League which at that time was semi-illegal under the repressive and vicious anti-labor law, Section 98. It was through the YCL that he came in contact with the Trotskyists who were fighting within the ranks of that party for the Leninist policy against the increasing influence of the Stalinist bureaucracy's policies. He was later expelled from the YCL and

(Continued on Page 2)

## RWP Candidate Dowson Interviewed

(Continued from Page 1)

joined the Spartacus Youth League, a Trotskyist youth organization, and later the Trotskyist party itself. He is now a member of the National Committee of the Revolutionary Workers Party of Canada and the editor of Labor Challenge.

Not only has Murray been active for over 14 years in the socialist movement but he described his extensive trade union record. He has been a member at different times of the Teamsters Union, the International Union of Operating Engineers, the International Association of Machinists and the United Automobile Workers (UAW). "I was a steward of the DeHavilland Local of the UAW during the war and carried on a fight against the

no strike pledge and wrote articles for the union paper on this and numerous other important trade union problems."

### FIGHTING FOR WORKING CLASS POLITICAL ACTION

Murray told me, that while he had never run as a candidate in elections before, he had been active in numerous election campaigns fighting for the principle of independent working class action. Back in 1937 he had been campaign manager for Wm. Smith who ran under the banner of the Workers Party of Canada for Reeve of York Township. I then asked him how he thought the party would make out in this electoral fight, and he replied with confidence: "It is too early to make any predictions but I believe that those workers that we are able to reach with our program will support us recognizing it as a solution to some of their most pressing problems. We have been given a great deal of encouragement from workers whom we have been able to speak to and some of whom have dropped into our campaign office to give us a hand. They agree with us that neither Tory Saunders nor any other capitalist candidate should be conceded an election through default by labor. The Revolutionary Workers Party is championing labor's cause in this election by challenging the Tory machine for the most important post in municipal politics. We are going to fight this campaign to the fullest extent of our resources. We are going to fight this campaign to win."

Murray told me that only last week the Massey Harris Local 439 UAW-CIO had let him speak for ten minutes at their general membership meeting and had endorsed his candidature for mayor. Perhaps if all the working people of Toronto had heard him speak they would vote Murray Dowson.

12/15/46

12-15-2

**4th International Issues  
Call for World Congress**

SPECIAL TO LABOR CHALLENGE

The Fourth International, World Party of the Socialist Revolution, was founded on the very brink of the Second World Imperialist slaughter. It is an international not only in words but in deeds. It alone can speak in the name of proletarian internationalism because it alone held up the banner in the interval between the two world wars and through the war years. The Fourth International is the living organizational expression of the program of revolutionary Marxism and the traditions of the Russian Revolution to which it has remained unwaveringly loyal. Founded on the organizational principles and structure of Bolshevism it is dedicated, in the spirit of its great founder Leon Trotsky, to mortal combat against capitalism and its replacement with a world socialist order. The Revolutionary Workers Party is proud to be the Canadian section of this international working class party.

Last April in Belgium in the face of almost insuperable obstacles a Pre-Conference was held. Representatives from all the principal European countries, the Western Hemisphere and the colonial world assembled to lay the preparations for a World Congress. The newly elected International Executive Committee drafted a manifesto which our readers will recall was published as a special supplement to the June issue of Labor Challenge.

**IEC RESOLUTION**

The International Executive Committee at a plenum held in October 1946 adopted the following resolution on the subject of the preparations of a World Congress;

(1) The IEC reaffirms the decision of the last plenum of June 1946 declaring open the discussion preceding the World Congress. As already indicated, this pre-congress discussion proceeds on the basis of the political resolution of the April Pre-conference as well as the resolution on the withdrawal of the occupation troops of the last Plenum of the IEC in June 1946, but it should centre more especially around the following points;

The question of the USSR and the policy of the Communist Parties.

The meaning of the transitional program and its application at the present stage.

The tactics of constructing the revolutionary parties in the present period.

A report on the activities of the International during the war will be presented for discussion before the World Congress.

(2) Every meeting of the IEC shall examine the development of international discussion and decide on new points eventually to be included within it. The IEC does not guarantee the publication of documents for international discussion after a closing date for the receipt of such documents has been fixed by it. The IEC shall fix the exact date and the place for the convocation of the World Congress

**ISSUES THE CALL**

(3) The convocation of the World Congress shall be announced to all organizations and groups claiming to adhere to the program of the 4th International.

Only those organizations that recognize the foundation of the Fourth International in 1938 and which are considered as official sections by the International shall be invited to send delegates with vote to the Congress.

The organizations which claim to adhere to the Fourth International but have not been formally

**Egyptian Trotskyist  
Jailed; Goes On  
Hunger Strike**

(Delayed)

The trial of Aly Abu el Nil a shoemaker of Alexandria who was arrested for "distributing alleged subversive literature signed Fourth International, Communist Revolution, Middle East Centre," was scheduled to begin in Cairo, on Nov. 1, according to the Egyptian Gazette of Oct. 20.

Aly Abu el Nil went on a hunger strike, protesting against the delay of the trial. His spirit "as reported to be high as he prepared to make a militant defense at the trial.

A number of well-known journalists who had been arrested around the same time—Rams' Yennane, Loufalah Solliman, Anwar Kavel, Bokhor Menasse, and Kialil el Assy—have been recently released.

recognized by it, should immediately address to the IEC their requests to participate at the World Congress. These requests must include information on their political activity and numerical strength, explaining the reasons for their non-affiliation to the Fourth International, whether it is a matter of a country where an official section exists, whether it is a country where no official section exists, the reasons which have brought about a split and the measures proposed to overcome it.

The IEC shall report to the World Congress on all request made to it, and the Congress shall decide upon each case.

In every case the IEC shall present to the Congress proposals regarding participation with full rights at the Congress, or participation in the discussion of the Congress with deliberative voice under certain conditions, or participation in the entire congress, or in part of its work with consultative voice only, or proposals rejecting requests for participation.

**ON UNIFICATION**

The organizations which claim to adhere to the Fourth International but who are not considered as official sections of the Fourth International in their respective countries, in order to facilitate their representation, are invited either to join the official sections before the World Congress, or to resume discussions with the official sections and resolve the question of unification in an unified organization of the Fourth International; or in cases where an official section does not exist, to attempt under the control of the IEC to arrange for the unification of groups either before or during the World Congress.

The IEC shall defend before the World Congress the following principles:

No organization shall have deliberative voice at the Congress if it does not undertake in advance to accept the discipline of the majority of the Congress politically as well as organizationally.

(4) The pre-World Congress discussion shall be conducted publicly to the greatest possible extent as far as political documents are concerned, which by their publication shall not be harmful to the security of our organizations.

# YOUTH PARLIAMENT STIFLES DEMOCRATIC DISCUSSION RWP DELEGATE WALKS OUT

By JOE ROSE

The National Labor Youth Parliament called by the National Federation of Labor Youth met in Toronto on the November 30th weekend. The general aim of the Parliament was to win "The Four Freedoms Now". But despite the broadness and all inclusiveness of the call and the parliament's objectives the 200 odd delegates represented almost in their entirety Stalinist or Stalinist dominated organizations.

Unemployment, rotten living conditions, low wages, etc. confront the youth in their sharpest and most pressing form. It is they who constitute the bulk of the untrained and unskilled workers who receive the lowest wages and are first to be threatened with wage cuts, lay-offs, and unemployment. It is they who, returning as veterans and setting up housekeeping, are confronted with the appalling housing shortage and sky-rocketted rents and prices. Since their problems are fundamentally parallel to those confronting the working class as a whole the aims and objectives o' the Parliament should have been to launch a relentless struggle against capitalism, the system which breeds these miseries.

The numerous delegates and guest speakers showed some ability in outlining the conditions that confront the youth. But a wide gap separated their posing of the questions from the pious and anaemic resolutions and lines of action recommended and adopted by the Parliament. The only attempt to develop a fighting program was quickly nipped in the bud.

Following the presentation of a wishy-washy resolution on housing the delegate representing the Youth Section of the Revolutionary Workers Party rose to advance a fighting solution to this problem. Calling for an extensive plan of low-cost housing he urged the Youth Parliament to demand that the one billion dollar Federal appropriation for military and de-

structive purposes be used for the necessary and constructive plan. Five minutes later the Credentials Committee without the knowledge of the Parliament then in session withdrew delegate privileges from the RWP. The reason given was that they did not agree with the program of the RWP. The Stalinist machine was determined that there was to be no life and no discussion outside the pious and conciliatory limits that they had outlined in the various resolutions.

At the next session despite the autocratic rulings of the chair, the unseated delegate demanded that the credentials committee explain its actions to the Parliament. Caught off guard the committee weekly defended itself with the charge that the press of the RWP, *Labor Challenge* was "anti-labor." The unseated delegate rent apart this slanderous lie by reading to the Parliament over the protestations of the chair sections of the party's fighting program from the pages of *Labor Challenge*. Amidst the general confusion a motion to refer the whole matter back to the cabinet was passed. This motion was designed to remove this scandalous denial of democratic rights from the floor. The RWP delegate was to remain unseated and with no opportunity to defend himself. In protest the RWP delegate withdrew leaving the parliament to discuss the next item which was ironically enough "Civil Liberties".

Not only was democratic discussion prohibited by the Stalinist machine which dominated the parliament but the entire content of the resolutions and the parliament

itself diverted the youth up a blind alley. Instead of independent working class actions the resolutions called for a policy of pressure political action. The class enemy of the workers were characterized as being merely "politically inept" and the parliament appealed for the unity of "all men of good will" not to lead a struggle against the evils of capitalism and for its destruction, but for the modest and utopian plan of their moderation.

The fundamental lesson hammered home by Marx and confirmed time and time again in the past decades of struggle is that the emancipation of the working class must be through the action of the working class itself.

## HELP WANTED

Male or female help wanted to support, work and vote for Murray Dowson, Revolutionary Workers Party candidate for Mayor of the City of Toronto, 1947. Apply to RWP Election Headquarters, 87 King Street West, Toronto 1, Ontario, Phone ELgin 9613. Free copies of election program, in attractive leaflet form, available for free distribution. Write and ask for them for your friends and shopmates. Watch the Toronto daily papers for announcements of RWP broadcasts.

# TORONTO!

**VOTE DOWSON FOR MAYOR!  
The Only Workers' Candidate**

12-15-3

**LABOR CHALLENGE**

(29) Mid-Dec. 1946

**BRITISH TROTSKYIST ON TRIAL  
FOR FRATERNIZATION WITH POWs**

LONDON.—What may prove to be an important test case and exposure of the British Labor Government's "re-education" of German prisoners of war is the coming trial of

William Cleminson, a member of the Sheffield Branch of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British section of the Fourth International. Cleminson has been summoned to appear before the local court on the charge of distributing written material to German POWs.

A campaign calling for support and funds for a Defense Committee is being made by the RCP. Its circular to all trade unions and workers' organizations states:

"All workers who value the ideas of internationalism and working class solidarity, and who wish to assist the German socialists in their struggle against Nazi elements in the POW camps and in Germany, will protest against this prosecution. British socialists and anti-fascists must demand the right of fraternization between British workers and German POWs and the complete right of the latter to contact the British working class movement."

"We appeal to all workers interested in democracy and free speech to support us in this campaign and demand that the prisoners of war have the same access to the workers' press as

the capitalist press is allowed unhampered circulation in the POW camps.

"Demand that the prosecution be withdrawn and the Regulation (preventing fraternization) be lifted.

"Demand that POWs be allowed to mix with the workers and attend Labor and anti-fascist meetings."

The RCP has been particularly active in this campaign for fraternization and the right of German POWs to receive freely the publications of the workers' organizations. A number of Trotsky's important articles, including *Germany — What Next?* along with a regular paper, *Solidarität*, have been produced in the German language. This material has had a very wide circulation, and demands are far in excess of the amount available.

The elementary step of any Labor Government wishing to re-educate the German POWs and to assist them in their struggle against Nazi elements is to permit the free political intercourse of the socialist POWs. This case will bring the whole question sharply before the organized workers.

12-1524

# Over One Third Yet To Come In To Reach \$1,500 Drive Objective

By PAUL KANE

As the Financial Campaign goes into its last week the total amount received has risen to \$961.25. Almost two-thirds of our entire objective of \$1,500.00 has been raised.

Toronto has taken over first place through a great burst of energy. In the past three weeks donations have started to pour in in great number. Large and small donations have come in from many loyal reader-supporters to boost the Toronto total up to \$650. With a considerable number of pledges still outstanding it appears quite certain that our Toronto comrades will maintain their excellent campaign record and will reach their objective. Their campaign manager, Joe Rose, is quite confident of the outcome. "As a matter of fact I expect that with a little extra effort we can go well over our objective and give a big hand to other localities who haven't as many possibilities of fund raising as we have here."

## B.C. CONTRIBUTIONS

While some points have not forwarded any further funds since our last column others have sent in several donations and have either reached or gone over their objective. Harry Noakes of Magna Bay has sent in another \$4.00. Comrade Noakes has done a wonderful job in raising funds for our press. He has obtained the aid of some of our readers in the district including J. N. Bentley, A. V. and A. H. Robert and has brought the total for this area up to \$10.00. In his last letter he told us that "it may be possible to raise some more but it will not reach you before the 15th. Joe Burki of Moon Lake, Alberta, has forwarded another donation to raise the Alberta receipts to \$21.25.

This week Milnes Landing topped its objective with two more donations; one five dollar bill from F. L. of Sooke and another from Byron Johnson. This brings the total for that area up to \$20.00 which is well over their quota. Prince Rupert has just broken her long silence. Comrade MacPhee forwarded \$10.00 this week which is the first part of the returns from their campaign. He writes us that, "we may be a little late in winding up the campaign but we are confident that we will give you the 'over the top campaign' that we promised."

Vancouver has forwarded three more payments and has now turned over a total of \$49.00. Ellaline MacDonald informs us that they have

more on hand which she will forward when they bring their campaign to a bang-up close at a social they are holding this coming Saturday night December 21st at Hastings Auditorium." A couple of our money raising schemes are well under way and we will have full returns in when you go to press with the next issue."

Montreal still stands at the \$125 mark and Windsor at the \$30 mark. The comrades at both these centres have assured us that they will reach their objectives by the time the campaign winds to a close. From Britannia Beach, scene of the recent prolonged hard rock miners strike, comes \$4.00 to keep Labor Challenge rolling off the presses. After apologizing for strike-thin pocket books these readers forwarded a very fine donation of \$4 made up by E. Malm, G. Mitchell, and W. White. White wrote us, "I am sorry I can't send more at this time, however I will soon be on my feet again and the contribution will grow." Several other

small contributions have come in from various points scattered across Canada including a donation from A. W. R. of Vancouver and McKinnon of Newton, B.C.

The total cash on hand amounts to \$961.25. Numerous guaranteed pledges that were made across the country are still outstanding. While we are well on the way to attaining our objective the next week's work will tell the tale. All campaign managers are urged to scrape their cash boxes and forward all money on hand within the next week. All readers and friends of Labor Challenge are urged if they have not already done so to send a donation to 87 King St. W., Room 5, Toronto. Let's make the objective and go over the top. Labor Challenge needs the \$1,500 to keep coming out regularly. The red baiting union hating campaign that is gradually being built up by Canada's boss kept press, the inflationary crisis that is developing, and staring the working class in the face, make it more essential than ever that Labor Challenge be freed from financial restrictions to advance its program of socialist struggle. Support the Labor Challenge Fund Drive.

12-15-5

## MANAGER'S COLUMN

By GORDON JAMES

A subscriber in Northlands, British Columbia, recently renewed his subscription to Labor Challenge. Ordinarily this is a routine matter but we were rather gratified with this renewal since it was for two years and was sent in long before expiration date. He explained that he was doing this to save us "bookkeeping." This demonstration of confidence in our press will be amply justified. But we are warning him that when we become a weekly we are only going to credit him with the number of copies still outstanding.

Each issue brings us new support as more and more workers become active in the task of bringing the revolutionary socialist press to the Canadian working class. Since our November issue new subs and renewals have come in from every corner of the country. They total 15 one year subs, 14 six month subs, plus 12 one year renewals, and 10 six month renewals. Vancouver sent in four one year subs and three six month subs including one from a new Labor Challenge sub-gather. Bad weather has interfered with organized sub-work but Vancouver assures us that they will do much better in the future, weather permitting.

Two Toronto comrades obtained nine renewals in a short canvass one Sunday afternoon. Availing themselves of the names and addresses of some subscribers whose subs had just run out they called on them at their homes and obtained seven one year renewals and two six month renewals. Joe Rose reports: "It was very easy. In most cases we hardly had a chance to say a word. Most of these people had been only getting the paper for six months and they were completely sold on it." In addition

Toronto comrades turned in four one year subs, eight six month subs, four one year renewals and three six month renewals.

Other centres that have reported subs are: Britannia Beach—3 subs, and Wiseton—5 subs. Single subscriptions have come in from Newton, Milnes Landing, New Denver, Moon Lake, Rodney, Crowland, and Montreal.

The response of the workers in Canada to the program and policies expounded in the columns of Labor Challenge is best shown in the number of renewals. In this work our most optimistic expectations have been far exceeded. The many workers who have been reading our paper only for a short time and are continuing their subscriptions are swiftly building a stable circulation under Labor Challenge.

### Toronto Readers

Are Invited to Attend the

### SUNDAY NIGHT FORUMS

8 P.M.

### NEW SERIES

Starting

January 5, 1947

Auspices of The Toronto Branch  
REVOLUTIONARY  
WORKERS PARTY  
87 King St. W., Room 5  
Questions and Discussion